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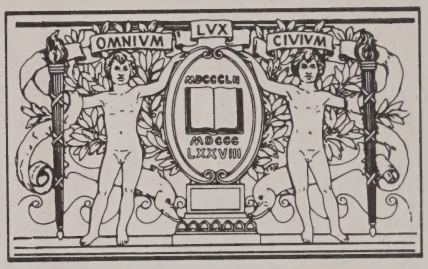

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THE

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AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

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AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XXX.—*New Series* N°. V.

JANUARY, 1821.

E. Everett

ART. I.—*Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ, ab Edvardo Copleston S. T. B. Collegii Orielensis Socio, et Poeticæ publico prælectore, nunc Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Londinensis Præbendario.* Oxonii, 1813. 8vo, pp. 466.

THIS work, as our readers perceive from the title page, has been before the public too long to be called a novelty. We do not remember, however, to have seen a notice of it in the contemporary literary journals; and our condition this side of the water is not unlike that of the Danish subjects in Greenland, to whom the annual ship from Copenhagen brought a year's supply of newspapers, which, being judiciously dealt out by the governor one by one, furnished the coffee-house politicians of the polar circle, with as regular a succession of news as is enjoyed at Lloyd's, with the trifling abatement, that it was all a year old. We have no reason to doubt that Dr. Copleston's prælections are new to most of our readers, nor that they will thank us for making them cease to be so.—He is already known to most of them, as having been the champion of his University, on occasion of the animated controversy, which arose from some severe animadversions in the Edinburgh Review, on the course of study and system of education pursued at Oxford. Dr. Copleston replied to these animadversions in a pamphlet, entitled 'The Calumnies of

the Edinburgh Review against Oxford, refuted,' which was in its turn the subject of a very lively retort, in the Edinburgh Review. To this Dr. Copleston rejoined in a pamphlet, of which several long extracts were reprinted in the Boston Anthology, and here, if we are not misinformed, the controversy rested. It is no part of our present purpose to revive it; the rather, as its essential merits are sometimes waved by the warmest friends of Oxford. It is not unusual to hear such friends concede that the English Universities are by no means to be considered merely as places of education, whither young men are to resort to acquire knowledge. There are, on the contrary, two other points of view in which these establishments are entitled to respect. The first is, as affording an eligible residence for young men of rank and fortune, between the periods of youth and manhood; subjecting them to some restraints, and calling on them for some efforts, which if they make, it is well, and if they do not, it is better than to have been at the centre of dissipation, in the capital. The other principal light, in which the English Universities are viewed, is that of a nursery for the established church; not exactly as a place to acquire the knowledge requisite for assuming its dignities; but as a middle state of preferment, from which the candidate is translated, when his hour cometh.

Now, with regard to any judgment we might ourselves be disposed to form and express, we severely reprobate that levity, with which travellers or foreigners are wont, on the score of some hasty observations made in a three days' visit, to condemn institutions, which have a deep foundation in the character of a people, and are therefore likely to be what that character requires. We think it most indecent, with that partial insight into things, which is caught in the post-chaise, at the inn, or even at the dinner table, to which a letter of introduction gives you access, to pronounce bold opinions on the morals and principles, that prevail at the firesides of a nation; on political controversies, of which we just know the catch words; and on establishments, upon which the wise and good have laboured for ages. And if it is thought an incontestible mark of a base and vulgar mind in private life, to decide intrusively and peremptorily on personal affairs, which do not concern us, and which we do not understand, we see not what can apologize for that ferocious spirit of censure, which sweeps through a great, populous, respectable, intelligent community; takes

high names in vain ; asperses characters, which are the objects of a nation's veneration; derides manners, because they are peculiar, that is, because they are manners ; and sits in judgment on the work of centuries. With these sentiments we should but condemn ourselves, did we indulge in any flippant disparagement of the English Universities. To say that as mere places of instruction they afford the assembled students less excitement and less aid, than the German Universities, would be to deny them a merit, which they do not anxiously covet. The English Universities are entitled to respect, as most splendid depositories of literary treasures ; and were it but in the libraries which their halls contain, they could not be denied to have paid their debt of utility to each of the transitory generations, which arises, flourishes, and decays beneath their ancient walls. They are entitled to respect, for the labours of a long unbroken line of learned men and accomplished scholars, which have made and will ever make the names of Oxford and Cambridge dear, when the English language shall be what the Latin is now. They are entitled to respect, on the grounds on which, as we have stated, they often claim it, viz. as a suitable abode for the aristocracy of the country, during the interval between the restraints of school, and the calls of life. It has, it must have, a salutary effect on the future character of this important class of the community, thus to bring its members, from a score of family factions, together ; to unite them, at least for a year or two, as members of one fraternity, before they plunge into the remorseless rivalries of government and life ; and even though the literary atmosphere of the place should be wholly left out of the account, though no consideration be had whatever of the enlargement and illumination of mind that must be caught involuntarily, in a two or three years' abode at an academical city, still to have redeemed so much time from the saloons and the worse than saloons of the metropolis, is enough. No one can doubt that the want of some such nursery of character in France, the immediate transition from boarding school and private tutelage, to the vices of the capital and the army, was one great cause of the degeneracy of the once gallant heraldry of that country : a degeneracy under which the spirit of the order was so wholly broken, that when the revolution came on, there was found scarce a member of the aristocracy, to assert their claims to more privileges and

greater fortunes, than were ever swept away by a popular storm. Lastly, the English Universities are entitled to respect, as a great integral part of the church establishment; and when so considered, some objections often urged to them will lose their force. It is objected, for instance, that at one of the great English Universities, subscription to the thirty-nine articles is necessary for admission, and at the other for a degree; and this, if you look upon the Universities as we look on all public institutions in our country, as the property of the people, the common inheritance of all, seems a hardship. But if you consider the Universities as a part of the religious establishment, to murmur against the privileges secured to the friends of the church in the Universities, or to the children of the Universities in the church, is to quarrel with an institution for supporting, encouraging, and upholding itself. Such of our readers as judge of foreign institutions, by domestic analogies, may think this last a poor defence; and that it were first to be proved that an exclusively national establishment of a particular sect of religion, is not an encroachment on political and civil liberty. We think ourselves that it is; but we are by no means sure that the establishment existing in England could be destroyed, to give place to any thing which might be proposed as a substitute, without bringing in new evils greater than the old. It ought never to be lost sight of, in surveying the institutions of every country, but our own, that they are not what their wise and good men have deliberately chosen and willed them to be; but what the wise and good have been able to cull and select, to put together, to repair, to balance one against another, to soften down, explain away, indulge in theory and modify in practice, save in the letter and correct in the spirit, out of those monstrous, revolting, and heathenish institutions, which, under the name of the feudal system, took too deep root in the world, to be soon if ever eradicated. Perhaps there is not a priest or prelate of the church of England, no, not the anxious expectant, who is counting the pulses of the incumbent of a good living to which he is to succeed, who would not calmly and theoretically allow that, upon the whole, it were to be wished that all advowsons were abolished, and that the state, if it chose to support the clergy, should support in each parish him, whom the people of that parish chose for their souls' physician. Perhaps there is not a politician in

England, no, not he who last bought a seat from old Sarun for £7000, (particularly on the late dissolution of parliament, which made it necessary, after a year's possession, to rebuy it at the same trifling price,) but would think it were better, in the abstract, to *district* the land, and send a member to parliament for every section in the country. But where will you begin, and where will you end? And when you have once opened the flood-gates of reform, where so much unprincipled ambition, so much party rage, so much recklessness of those who have all to gain and nothing to lose, so much fond thirst for speculative improvements, will all press forward to enter, who shall assure you, that reason, and conscience, and mercy, will not be put to flight; that kings, and lords, and prelates, and the few who have what the many covet, will not be led to the scaffold, and a bloody despotism of physical force take the place of government and law. For ourselves, with the veneration we feel for the great masters of English literature, it is impossible not to transfer no little share of the sentiment to the seats of science, where their minds were formed. That American must have a temper, which we are happy not to be able to comprehend, who could go up into the tower over the gate way of Trinity College or walk round the gardens of Christ's, at Cambridge, and think that he was pressing the footsteps of Newton and Milton, without a thrill which no reasonings or cavils can keep down. We of America have here an advantage over our English brethren, in that keen enthusiasm which we feel for the famous spots and abodes, that are consecrated to both alike, by the great names associated with them. To them the constant presence and familiarity of the scene blunt the edge of the feelings it excites in us, and Westminster Abbey and Stratford on Avon, awaken an enthusiasm in an American fancy, which the Englishman smiles at, as a sort of provinical rawness. Instead of assenting to those on both sides of the water, who have spoken of America as unfortunate in the want of ancient associations, as condemned to a kind of matter-of-fact, unpoetical newness of national character, we maintain that never nation, since the world began, had so rich a treasure of traditional glory. Is it nothing to be born, as it were, with the birthright of two native lands; to sail across the world of waters, and be hailed beyond it by the sound of your native tongue? Is it nothing to find in another hemisphere the names, the customs, and the dress of

your own; to be able to trace your ancestry back, not to the ranks of a semi-barbarous conqueror, or the poor mythology of vagrants and fugitives of fabulous days, but to noble, high-minded men in an age of glory, than which a brighter never dawned on the world? Is it nothing to be able, as you set your foot on the English soil, and with a heart going back to all the proud emotions which bind you at the moment to the happy home you have left, to be able still, nevertheless, to exclaim, with more than poetical, with literal natural truth,

Salve! *magna Parens*
Frugum, Saturnia tellus, magna, virûm!

If there be any feeling, merely national, which can compare with this, it should be that which corresponds to it; the complacency, with which it were to be hoped the wise and good friends of British glory in England would regard this flourishing off-set of their own native stock; the pride with which they should witness the progress of their language, their manners, their laws and their literature, over regions wider than the conquests of Alexander; and that not by a forced and military imposition on a conquered land, but by fair and natural inheritance, and still more by voluntary adoption and choice; the joy, with which they should reflect, that not a note is struck at the centre of thought and opinion in the British capital, but is heard and propagated by our presses, to the valley of the Missouri, and that if the day should come in the progress of national decline, when England shall be gathered with the empires that have been, when her thousand ships shall have disappeared from the ocean, and the mighty chain of her wealth shall be broken, with which she has so long bound the European world to her chariot-wheels, and mustered the nations, from the banks of the Tagus to the banks of the Don, to march beneath the banner of her coalitions, that then there will be no unworthy descendant to catch her mantle; and that the rich treasure of her institutions and character, instead of becoming the unrescued prey of Huns and Vandals, and whatever uncouth name of barbarism laid waste of old the refinements of the world, will be preserved, upheld, and perfected in the western world of promise.

We have allowed our feelings to carry us too far from the subject which we were considering, and from the tribute of

respect we wished to pay to the illustrious literary establishments of England. But we would have this tribute as honest as it is hearty and sincere; and we cannot therefore but express with it the opinion, that though the English Universities do not profess to be simply schools of instruction, still that, even in this department, some improvements might be made, and that the youth of rank and fortune which resort to them, might fill up their time more profitably and usefully, as well as innocently, by a more zealous and extensive course of academical study, than we believe prevails at them. The unexampled success of Blackstone's lectures on the law, and the permanent service which they have rendered the study of that profession, ought to encourage a more frequent imitation of the example. On the continent, at least in those parts of it where public education is on a good footing, the children of the aristocracy pass the time of their residence at the University, in attending courses of lectures on the law, on history, geography and statistics, on the natural sciences, on diplomacy. These are thought to merit their attention, as those who are to fill the front ranks in society; while, at the English Universities, the zeal and efforts of the same class are chiefly directed to general classical studies, or the abstract study of the mathematics, each of which is worthy of great attention, but neither nor both affording exclusively an adequate training for the future politician, statesman, legislator, or man of affluent leisure. It is no rare thing to hear beautiful Latin and Greek quotations, in the house of commons in England, often, we suppose, the remains of passages imposed to be gotten by heart, as the punishment of some school-boy delinquency; but it would take a great many such quotations to compensate for the anecdote recorded by Edwards, 'of a noble and learned earl, who presided at the hearing of a law question, which came by appeal from one of the sugar colonies, and who, thinking it necessary to give some account of the nature of rum and molasses—much being stated in the pleadings, concerning the value of those commodities—assured his auditors, with great solemnity, that "Molasses was the raw and unconcocted juice, extracted from the cane, and from which sugar was afterwards made by boiling."'*

It has appeared to us, if with a limited acquaintance we

* Preface to the History of the West-Indies.

have a right to judge of the subject, that too much attainable good is sacrificed, at the English Universities, by adherence to ancient prescriptions. We know not where else in the world so munificent a patronage of learning exists as the endowment of the fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge. It is said that the revenues of the richest fellowships are £800 a year, a salary as high, or higher, than that of the governor or chief justice of Massachusetts. The number of fellowships so rich as this may not be large, but the whole annual amount appropriated in this way to the support of men of learning, at the Universities, is well known to be great; great even with the less frugal English notions of an appointment. And yet the manner in which these livings are attained, and the tenure by which they are held, prevent them, we apprehend, from rendering half the good to the cause of learning, of which under a different administration they might be made productive. Some fellowships indeed are open to all the world, as those of Trinity College, Cambridge; others are limited to certain districts of counties, others to single counties, to single parishes, to single schools. At Oxford, the Magdalen fellowships are said to be the best. Of these, five belong to the diocess of Winchester, seven to the county of Lincoln, four to Oxford, three to Berks, &c. At new college, Oxford, the fellows must be elected from Winchester school; and at King's college, Cambridge, from Eton school. This holds of scholarships, another class of establishments similar in nature, though subordinate in rank, to fellowships, and which should be considered as a part of the system, inasmuch as the fellows, if we are not misinformed, are chosen from among the scholars.

We suppose that when these establishments were originally founded, the literary and clerical profession, for these were then identical, could not support itself; and it was necessary that permanent provision should be made for those, who were to teach and preach, as there is now adays for those who fight. The colleges were founded, to afford such provision for the training and supporting of the clergy. Places of general education, we suppose, they were not; for there was nobody, at the period of the establishment of the more ancient of them, to be educated. It is only an improvement, forced upon them by the progress of society, that other scholars, besides the stipendiaries on the foundations, have been

received at them to be educated. Now that the wealth acquired by the commercial and agricultural classes has built up a middle order of society, unknown in the feudal ages, possessed of the means of pursuing whatever calling inclination may suggest, the original object of the colleges, viz. as indispensable nurseries for literary and clerical men, has become, if not subordinate, at least only collaterally important. There would now be learned men enough and clergymen enough, without so many or so rich fellowships and scholarships; and as England is the only country in the world, where such establishments exist in any considerable degree, so without them England would be able, as well as other countries, to provide for the interests of literature and the church.

There is no doubt but that, in many single cases, the patronage afforded by these establishments is, in the highest degree, seasonable in its application, and happy in its effects. But that the whole system, as existing in all its parts, is valuable in proportion to the costliness of the apparatus, we cannot fully persuade ourselves. A boy makes interest to be put on the foundation at one of the great schools, at Eton, Westminster, Winchester, Merchant tailors'; or he is put on such a foundation, because he was born in a certain parish, county, or diocess. Once a scholar there, he usually becomes a scholar at some college. He then becomes fellow, and at last succeeds to the first living in the gift of his college, that falls in, which happens on an average at the age of forty or forty-five. The moral effect of this system on the hearts and characters of the aspirants is feelingly and eloquently described, by the ingenious author of Espriella's letters. The literary effect of the whole system is, that from boyhood, the individual secures a provision for life. It may be that he shall all along deserve such provision, and turn it to the account of religion and letters. But in no step of the progress does he enjoy the patronage *because* he deserves it, but because he had the good fortune to get into the circle, which is moving round, and will bring him his turn in due time. Now we do really think that this must of itself encourage indolence, and bring on an indifference to personal reputation. But the evil goes farther, for so many places in the church, as are thus appended to the fellowships, are so many rewards of exertion and merit removed from the market, so that a less worthy candidate may be promoted, and a more worthy one neglected. Besides

this patronage in the church thus forestalled, the fellowships themselves present a vast amount of patronage, which might be turned to greater account, by having greater respect to merit in its distribution.

If it be said that the fellows earn their support, by the services they personally render to learning and religion, we are not disposed to deny that they do all that can be expected of men in their place, free from the spur of necessity, not wrought upon by emulation, under the lethargic air which has infested all establishments from the beginning. As instructers at the universities they serve the public; but a portion only of them are wanted in this way; and the circumstance that the fellowship is but a temporary provision, and that as soon as a few years' experience have well qualified an individual as an instructer, he is likely to be called away to a living, makes the fellowships of less use, even in this respect, than might be expected. While at the present day, and in England, learning is really so much honored, and employed, and so well paid, that it cannot be thought that its interests would suffer, were these appropriations for the support of an order of learned men in a state of celibacy (for that is the universal condition of fellowship) thrown into the common stock, to find their way into the hands of the industrious and the deserving.

But it is more than time to turn from these remarks, which we hope are not open to the censure we have ourselves pronounced at the beginning of the article, on impertinent judgments of foreign institutions which we do not understand. The volume before us contains the lectures delivered by Dr. Copleston, then fellow and now provost or master of Oriel college, in capacity of Professor of Poetry. This professorship was founded by Dr. Birkhead; the professor is elected for a period of five years, and is capable of one re-election. His lectures are delivered but once a term, and in the Latin language. It is sufficient to repeat the list of the predecessors of Dr. Copleston, to show the respectability of the professorship. Their names are Dr. Trap, Thomas Warton, John Whitfield, Bishop Lowth, whose celebrated work on Hebrew poetry was the lectures delivered on this foundation, William Hawkins, Thomas Warton, Dr. Wheeler, Bishop Randolph, Dr. Holmes, and Dr. Hurdis. Of these names, many of them of the first degree of respectability, that of Dr. Lowth alone is enough to confer dignity

on the foundation. To the lectures on Hebrew poetry, is unquestionably to be ascribed the first spring given to the study of the bible, in the enlightened spirit of the modern school of sacred literature. The Latin language, in which they were written, secured them easy access to the German universities and schools, and an edition of them with annotations, and an appendix, was soon published by Michaelis, who stood at that time at the head of the biblical critics of his country; and who, as well as his successors, concedes to Bishop Lowth, the merit of having first penetrated into the spirit of Hebrew antiquity, and set the example of the true mode of studying and enjoying its literary remains.

This affords one of many examples of the utility of a lingua doctorum communis. We suppose there are few scholars, who have had occasion to reflect on the subject, who have not had their doubts whether the disuse of the tongue, once common to scholars, be not upon the whole disadvantageous to the cause of letters. There was certainly something grand in this learned community of language; in this remedy, by no means inconsiderable, of the great catastrophe of Babel, which enabled the scholar, wherever he went, to find his native tongue; and which, so long as it continued to be the depository of science and literature, emancipated him from this slavery of learning a half a dozen languages. Let us consider, too, how much of our modern literature is translation, or the saying over in one language what had been better said in another, and still more that with all our translations a mountain, a river, or an invisible political boundary makes us substantially strangers to the efforts, which the human mind has made and is making, among our fellow men. One great blow to the universality of the Latin as a learned language, was abolishing the practice of lecturing in it, in the German universities. This was first done by Thomasius, a professor at Halle, in the beginning of the last century; and his example has so generally prevailed, that few or no lectures are now delivered in that tongue in Germany. In the Dutch universities, the practice is still kept up, and all the lectures are delivered in Latin, even those on the national Dutch literature. This language too may there oftener than elsewhere, be heard out of the lecture room. We have heard it more pleasantly, we presume, than accurately, said of Ruhnkenius, the last modern scholar, to

whose name the venerable *ius* is permanently attached, that Latin was the *only* language, he was able to speak. He was a native of Pomerania, and as such the German was his vernacular tongue. That he had lost in his long residence in Holland, without having had occasion to acquire the Dutch, as the whole business of his calling was discharged in Latin. A little bad French he had picked up for society, but Latin was his mother tongue. We happened to be present in the study of his late lamented successor, the illustrious Wyttenbach, at an interview between natives of America, England, Holland, and Greece, where the conversation was of necessity conducted in Latin, as the only common tongue. The Latin language was perhaps used for the last time, as a vernacular language, by the Hungarian diet. In 1805 it was abolished as the language of this diet, and the native Hungarian substituted. This took place in consequence of the efforts made by the Austrian government from the time of Joseph II. to force the German language upon the Hungarians, with the design of eradicating their own. This of course had the effect of making their own doubly precious in their eyes, and so much has it since been cultivated, that it has quite driven out the German and Latin from the schools and the diet; so that now the Hungarian people enjoy the great privilege of speaking, under the appellation of Magyar, a language wholly unique, associated neither with the Roman, Celtic, Teutonic, or Sclavonian stock, and of course the least likely to be learned, by a foreigner, of any tongue in Europe. Such as it is, they pursue it themselves with singular zeal, and not a national press in Europe is more prolific of original works, as well as translations, than that of Pesth, the Hungarian capital.

It will not be expected of us to go into a minute analysis of the work of Dr. Copleston before us. We shall content ourselves with briefly indicating its character to our readers, and referring them to the lectures themselves. The general subject is poetry, and this surveyed under a fourfold division of topics, viz. imitation, the passions, the imagination, and the judgment:—of which, however, the last is not treated, from the length to which the three first had run. The general strain of criticism is ingenious and sensible; not imbued with the peculiarities of the modern school, but in the most judicious style of that which preceded it. The illustrations are all from the Latin and the Greek poets. 'Unum, quod in

materia tam grandi tam pene infinita tractanda, ea mihi constituta est lex, ut unius fere aut duarum ad plurimum linguarum concludar terminis; quoniam ista jam olim a majoribus recepta est consuetudo ut quicquid intra hæc nostra scholarum spatia in medium proferatur, nisi accesserit Latini sermonis gratia, id omne quasi rude quiddam atque absonum auresferiat; neque ullius unquam lingua præterquam Græca admixtionem vel levissimam patiatur.' p. 3. In pursuance of this law there are no examples, but from the Latin and Greek poets; and in addition to their claims to attention as a critical treatise, we can most highly commend these lectures for the admirable selection they contain of beautiful passages from the ancient masters. In making this selection, Dr. Copleston has drawn, not from common second-hand sources, but from a most extensive personal acquaintance with the remains of ancient literature. We are particularly grateful to him, for his quotations from Apollonius, in the tenth lecture; and would refer to the passages which they may there find, all modern critics who may be disposed to maintain that classical literature has left us no images of tender, delicate, and heart-felt love.

We confess ourselves to have been, in no small degree, edified by the wholesome doctrines taught in these lectures, by the judicious criticism with which they are enforced, and the examples with which they are illustrated of acknowledged excellence, of excellence which has stood the test of twenty centuries, and of the loss of the language in which they are recorded. We have been too much hurried on, these last years, with the rapid, the intense succession of new forms of excellence. It is impossible for any but a most audacious critic not to feel a misgiving, whether a century hence,—when all the local and contemporary pageantry with which these shining wonders have come out shall have passed away, and posterity like the Egyptian tribunal for the dead shall sit in judgment on their merit,—it is impossible not to feel a misgiving whether our testimonies of admiration may not be discredited, and our sentences of delight and rapture reversed. We have had too much good poetry, to feel sure that it is good; and the tide of popularity and fashion has set too deep and strong, not to wash away the land-marks of a sane and sober criticism. It is not in human nature and human genius, that this rapidity, this fertility, this porten-

tous fecundity of excellence should produce nothing but ripe and wholesome fruits. It never happened before, that what was to stand for ages could be thrown off as carelessly and easily, we had almost said as mechanically, as the sheets on which it is printed are thrown off at the press. The everlasting laws of the mind will not be so violated and defied. Genius never meant and never will mean the power of working without means, without time, and without pause; nor was it ever given to mortal man to scribble off with a flying pen, what shall be read and be worthy to be read for ever. It is paying no compliment to the literature of the age, or the merit of an author to assert it. To maintain it, is to turn the high and venerable office of instructing and delighting the world into a fantastic legerdemain of effects without causes; and a popular six weeks' epic proves not so much the inspiration of the poet, as the treachery of the critic, and the good nature of the public. We are willing to appeal to the honest experience of our readers, for the justice of these remarks. We are confident that already these glittering wonders have begun to detrude each other from the reading desk of the judicious lovers of poetry. Nothing of this is said invidiously. We do think there are passages, and long and frequent passages, in the poems of Scott, and Byron, and Southey, which will be read while any thing English shall be read, which will be admired when London is a sheep-walk. But these passages are associated with a mass of what is merely popular, pleasing, agreeable to the present generation under the prevailing taste, nor can we honestly say that we think the age has produced one standard classical poem, with which it could boldly enter the lists of epic immortality.

The latinity of Dr. Copleston's lectures is easy and classical, and well sustains the character of the English school. We have been disposed to give the palm of latinity to the modern Italian scholars, and next to them to the Dutch. But we are not sure that such comparisons are made with safety, and the judgment of the critic fails from the same cause which affects the taste of the writer, the ringing of his own idiom in his ears. The modern writers of Latin fall into two errors, quite opposite in their nature, from this same source. On the one hand, some vernacular idioms and forms of speech will intrude themselves; and on the other hand, in

their zeal to escape from these, they run into an extravagant accumulation of Roman peculiarities, and not seldom into forms, which are no otherwise Latin, than that they are not English, nor German, nor Italian. We think the English Latin is marked by the first fault, and the German Latin by the second; the English is too easy and the German too hard. But we do not think Dr. Copleston's lectures obnoxious to this exception, and must confess that we much prefer his style of latinity, to the *Centonic* manner of the preface to Bellendenus. We think the following translation of an eloquent passage from Mr. Burke, will give our readers a pleasing and favourable specimen of the language of these lectures. It is from the speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts.

'I was going to awake your justice toward this unhappy part of our fellow citizens, by bringing before you some of the circumstances of this plague of hunger. Of all the calamities, which beset and waylay the life of man, this comes the nearest to our heart, and is that wherein the proudest of us all feels himself to be nothing more than he is; but I find myself unable to manage it with decorum: these details are of a species of horror so nauseous and disgusting; they are so degrading to the sufferers, and to the hearers; they are so humiliating to human nature itself, that on better thoughts, I find it more adviseable to throw a pall over this hideous object, and to leave it to your general conception.'

This is thus introduced and rendered by Dr. Copleston.

'Tanti autum esse judico in hoc re summi ac disertissimi viri auctoritatem, quem non multis abhinc annis morte abreptum respublica nostra doluit, ut verba ferme ipsa orationis, quam olim in frequenti senatu habuit, modo latine versa, apud vos recitandi veniam fidenter petam. Postquam enim ex rebus Indicis male administratis bellum sceleratissimum ista regione exarsisse dixerat, quo bello flagrante gens mitis et innocua oppressa malis ac propemodum extincta jacuisset; mox bellicos furores horrendam insuper ac fere inauditam *famem* insecutam esse monstravit. Quam quidem calamitatem, cum suo more, amplissimo sermone et variis eloquentiæ luminibus distinctam expossuisset, hunc tandem in modum orationis cursum inhibuisse fertur.

'Cogitabam equidem quo afflicti hujus populi magis vos moverent, aliqua ex peste communi deligere, quæ tanquam miserrimæ illius fortunæ exemplum attente inspiceretis. Quippe ex malis

omnibus, quæ in vitam hominum incidere solent, hoc procul dubio maxime sensum attingit humanum: neque est cujusquam tam indomita superbia, quin hoc eum quam sit natura debile atque infirmum fateri cogat. Atqui, ut verum fatear, rem ipsam honeste tractare nequeo. Tanta est et tam fœda hujusmodi malorum deformitas; adeo tetra fuere in patiendo, adeo in dicendo, turpia; tantopere ipsam hominis naturam a propria sede pellere ac detrudere videntur, ut rem omnem pallio quasi coopertam esse mallem, et quod ipse lingua effere non audeo, vos tacita modo mente cogitare.'

ART. II.—1. *Memoir of the Internal Improvements contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina; and on the Resources and Finances of that State.* pp. 88. Raleigh, J. Gales, 1819.

2. *Report of sundry surveys made by Hamilton Fulton, Esq. State Engineer; agreeably to certain instructions from Judge Murphy, chairman, &c. and submitted to the General Assembly of North Carolina at their session in* 1819. pp. 70. Raleigh, T. Henderson.

3. *The History of North Carolina; by Hugh Williamson, M. D. LL. D.* 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1812. T. Dobson.

FEW subjects, we suppose, can be more interesting to our readers, than those, which relate to our national improvements. While as a nation we are growing in wealth, in physical strength, and moral worth, we are laying a foundation for respectability and happiness, which will not easily be shaken. The strongest safeguard of the liberties of a people is intelligence; the best security of their morals is industry; the surest pledge of their future greatness is a wakeful spirit of enterprize, and a generous emulation. Under a government like ours, and in a country like the United States, every thing depends on manly, spirited, and well regulated exertion. It is the genius of our government to encourage enterprize of every sort, without interposing any more checks, than are essential to preserve its own stability, and secure to all an equality of rights and privileges.

Every state, and indeed the smallest community, enjoys the same national patronage and protection. There may be local and natural obstructions to improvement; but where

there are public spirit, enlightened zeal, and honourable ambition, it is idle to talk about obstacles,—every thing may be done that ought to be done. This remark will apply equally to individuals, corporate bodies, and state legislatures. If all these will dismiss narrow prejudices, and think that only to be private good, which promotes general utility, it will be impossible, that we shall not grow up rapidly into an enlightened, prosperous. and happy nation. If different states have contending interests, it is the part of wisdom to make mutual sacrifices for mutual benefits.

The most direct and powerful means of improvement rest in the states individually. The compass of each state is sufficiently narrow, and its legislative power sufficiently diffused, to render a knowledge of its internal condition, wants, and resources easily attained. At the same time each enjoys full authority, under the constitutional compact, to adopt and put into execution such measures as it chooses for local improvements, and to employ for this purpose such resources as it can command. Many things should no doubt be left to individual enterprize; yet this may and ought to receive a salutary stimulus from well timed public encouragement.

Prudence and economy are estimable virtues even in states; but it is to be feared, that many legislators, who show no lack of wisdom in other things, have had their judgments strangely warped, and their conceptions unhappily obscured, by starting with wrong definitions, and making an incorrect use of terms, when they have been deliberating on public improvements. They have cried out prudence and economy, without once dreaming, that they were giving wrong names to certain qualities and affections, called short-sightedness, narrow policy, love of popularity and perhaps selfishness. If they would examine this point a little more, we believe they would at least arrive at the conviction, that to act with timidity is not always to act with discretion. They would learn, that the economy, which will save a farthing to a constituent on the next tax list, is not always that which will advance his ultimate prosperity; and that putting off a good purpose till a more convenient season shows no very strong disposition to do good at any season.

That is a miserable economy, which keeps us always in poverty. He is the truly economical man, who disposes of his means judiciously, but liberally, for beneficial purposes.

If he keeps half his property inactive, he may be a miser, but not an economist. So it is in a state. That is wretched policy, which tends to check exertion. Nor is that much better, which does not give life and facilities to industry. Where is the benefit of resources rich and powerful, if there be not enlargement of views and public spirit enough to bring them into action? It is not the legislature, which brings down the annual expenditures to the smallest amount, that discovers the truest spirit of economy; but that, which devises the best methods of disposing of all the revenues a state can afford, in adding to its political importance, its physical and moral strength, and its permanent prosperity.

We may justly suspect the patriotism of him, who is forward in the councils of state to diminish the revenue by reducing a tax, which has always been cheerfully paid; or by removing it, because it happens to be unpopular, as all taxes will be, among the class of people who bear the heaviest burdens. What a world of debate and bustle have we once had in the halls of our national legislature about a whiskey tax? And what a world of debate and bustle should we again have, if this subject were brought forward, as it ought to be, and a new tax imposed? Not that a majority of the members are whiskey distillers, or dealers in this precious article; but there is a certain mysterious sympathy between the representative and his constituents, which operates with a sort of magical power, especially when the criterion of popular sovereignty, the freedom of election, happens to come into consideration. We are compelled to confess, though we do it reluctantly, that in reading the journals of our national, as well as many of the state legislatures, we have been mortified with nothing so much, as the indifference with which appropriation bills are generally received, and the coldness with which they are no less generally dismissed.

What has become of the noble project for a national university? It had the honour of being submitted to a committee, of commanding the attention of the house for a few moments to a short report at the close of a session, and of falling quietly into a sleep, from which it would seem never again likely to be awakened. While small states in Europe, whose positions we can hardly trace on our maps, are endowing universities, establishing and affording patronage to

numerous institutions, we are contented tamely to submit to the reproach of doing absolutely nothing. We waste millions in long talks about Indian wars, and in never-ending speeches on questions, the very terms of which the whole country forgets almost before the orators have hoisted to half their height the flood-gates of their eloquence. But when the subject is brought forward, which, certainly as much as any other, embraces the vital interests of the nation, which involves its moral energies, its intellectual greatness, and political dignity, the torrent has then subsided; not a voice has power to raise the feeblest note; not a whisper of approbation is heard; not a figure of rhetoric remains. At most we hear nothing, but a few faint and ill-omened murmurs about the low state of the treasury. We cannot but think, that this subject has been passed over, without that candid and liberal investigation which it rightfully deserves, and which it must receive before we can free ourselves from the reproach, which has been justly drawn down upon us, by our total indifference, as a nation, to the great cause of literature and science.

Many of the single states have acted on a more generous plan, and with much more enlightened views. They have acted on the undeniable principle, that the happiness of a people is commensurate with its intelligence and prosperity. They have been convinced, that the members of a large community can in no way pay their money with a prospect of so much advantage to themselves, as in support of literary institutions of various ranks, in advancing schemes of general utility, public works, and plans of internal improvements. In respect to the first of these, it might be invidious to discriminate. If the endeavours of every state in establishing institutions of learning have not been attended with equal success, it is not to be so much attributed to a want of zeal in the legislatures, as to local, and in many instances unavoidable causes. We do not believe any state has done more than it should do; but whoever will be at the trouble of looking over the literary records of the several states will be willing to allow, that within the last few years especially, no one can be charged with a forgetfulness on this subject, and very few reproached for being backward in making liberal appropriations. We cannot forbear mentioning here the university of Virginia, not only as bearing honourable testi-

mony to the liberality of the state, but as affording one of the finest specimens of the arts in this country. We do not hesitate to say, that in elegance of design, in correctness and beauty of architecture, nothing on this side of the Atlantic surpasses the group of colleges now building near Charlottesville under the immediate direction of Mr. Jefferson. We have heretofore given our views of the theoretical scheme of this university. We have seen no reason to change these views, but we hope we may be disappointed in our fears, that its success may not be adequate to the large and liberal scale on which it is founded, and to the expectations of its friends and patrons. We are happy to learn also, that the University of Maryland has, by the spirited exertions of a few individuals, lately been gaining ground. By a late valuable acquisition, it promises, in its medical department, soon to rival the first schools in this country.

Thus it is in regard to literature; but when we come to what may more properly be called internal improvements, we shall find, that some states have left others far behind. New York has shown a spirit of enterprize, and set an example, which are above all praise. The great canal of the lakes is an undertaking of which the most powerful governments on earth might be proud. It is not more a glory to the state, than an honour to the country. The canal of Languedoc, which has long been the boast of France, and perhaps we may say of Europe, is not to be compared with this. Pennsylvania, for thirty years past, has done much to improve her inland navigation, and to multiply the facilities for internal transportation. The good effects of her wise and well conducted measures have long been visible, and are every day becoming more so, in the growing population and wealth of the state, the high cultivation in many parts, the excellence of the markets, and the increasing comforts of the people. Virginia has lately come forward with a comprehensive and judicious plan for public improvements, and engaged in its execution with liberality and zeal. In a former number (XXII) we have given a particular account of the doings of the board of public works in Virginia. South Carolina has within a short period appropriated a million of dollars to internal improvements; and of this sum it has authorized an annual expenditure of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, under the direction of a board of public works and a principal engineer.

But we intend it as the chief object of this article, to draw the notice of our readers to the late acts and projected improvements of North Carolina. We have before us a series of documents on this subject, published some months since, in Raleigh, and drawn up principally by the Hon. A. D. Murphey. These documents prove, that the legislature of North Carolina has engaged in the noble undertaking of internal improvements with an enlargement of plan, and a firmness of purpose not surpassed by any other state. Nor has every thing evaporated in deliberations and schemes. In the proceedings thus far, we discover much wisdom in projecting, and much energy in acting.

Till a very late period, North Carolina seems to have held a rank among the other states by no means proportionate to its significance in itself, or its importance in the union. Among the old states it was the third in magnitude, being larger than New York. It has lately been enlarged by an accession of territory on the western borders of Georgia, which formerly belonged to the Cherokee Indians. In the extent of its population, it now ranks the third or fourth in the union. And yet, with all these claims to consequence, how little have we hitherto heard of North Carolina? Our geographers have drawn a picture, which it has given us no delight to contemplate; and our travellers have most unfortunately seen nothing but alternate swamps and sands in the face of the country, and rudeness and ignorance among the people. A half century has scarcely elapsed, since a worthy traveller from our own metropolis, after having been in North Carolina, came home, and gravely wrote in a book, 'there are but seven provincial laws throughout the colony, and no courts at all in being.' In some things it may be admissible to judge of the whole from a part; but the time is nearly gone by when the public is willing to allow a traveller to have the miraculous power of describing the geography of a country, and the manners and character of the inhabitants, by passing through one of its obscurest corners, and perhaps passing a day at one of its meanest inns. But from sources scarcely more respectable, it has been our misfortune hitherto to derive the most of our knowledge of North Carolina.

It is not to be denied, however, that, although this state has been subject to much misrepresentation, it has not made that progress in general intelligence, refinement, wealth, and agri-

cultural improvement, which its many advantages might justly lead us to expect. We believe one reason has been the defective and unsettled government, which prevailed in this state from its first settlement even till the revolution. The colonial governors, and chief officers, were often worthless and depraved. Bad laws were badly administered. It is said, that the form of government, which the proprietors of the colony established, was drawn up by Locke. It is remarkable, that a man, who was so great a friend to civil liberty, and who wrote so powerfully in favour of toleration, should propose, as the fundamental principles of a constitution in a new colony, a system of articles, one of the most prominent features of which was, that they deprived the people of all freedom, both civil and religious. The government was founded on the semi-feudal notion of lords, landgraves, and barons, and left the people little else to do but to obey. It is not certain that this government ever went into a perfect operation, yet, as far as it was carried, its influence must have been exceedingly unfavourable to the improvement, as well as the happiness of the people.

Another cause of the slow improvement of North Carolina, and one which no human skill or industry could remove, has been the obstructions to commerce, which abound along the whole coast of the state. The interior country is intersected by many navigable rivers, whose banks are rich and fertile, but not a single point has been found on the coast, at which a safe and commodious port could be established. The consequence has been, that the produce has flowed into channels, which have carried it out of the state to distant markets, and the profits of trade have helped to enrich other states, at the expense of North Carolina. The necessary demand for foreign articles has been supplied, not by a direct importation, nor any thing like a mutual interchange of commodities; but by receiving them from domestic ports, and allowing the profits of barter to be made and retained abroad. The effects of this state of things on the banking establishments, and on those commercial facilities arising from a substantial medium of exchange, are well set forth by Judge Murphey.

'Men must learn political truths in the school of experience. Such is their obstinacy, that they will learn them no where else. The events of the year 1819 have taught us lessons of the most impressive character. If we do not profit by them, we deserve

to be lashed still more severely. It is true the distress in pecuniary matters, which now prevails in this state, is not to be attributed to one cause only; but it is obvious to a common observer, that the greatest and most operative cause of this distress is the scattered condition of our commerce, and the want of a home-market. Having no commercial city in which the staples of our soil can be exchanged for foreign merchandise, our merchants purchase their goods, and contract their debts in Charleston, Petersburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Part of these debts are discharged by shipments of produce; *the balance* by cash. Once in every year the state is literally drained of its money to pay debts abroad. Our banks, not being able to do as extensive business by bank credits, as is done in large commercial cities, are compelled to issue and throw into circulation their notes to meet the demands of commerce. These notes are collected in immense numbers in other states, and returned upon banks for specie, and the banks are compelled not only to curtail their discounts and press their dealers, that they may call in their notes, but upon emergencies to suspend specie payments. The consequence is, that their notes depreciate, and the merchants being obliged to make remittances to other states, sustain the most serious losses. No blame is to be attached to the banks. They have not issued more paper, than the ordinary demands of our commerce require. The evil lies in the condition of the state; a condition, which, in the first place, induces the merchants to contract their debts in other states; and which, in the second place, compels the banks to do business by issues of notes, instead of doing it by bank credits. The old United States bank, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, and making annual dividends of eight per cent, never had in circulation at any one time notes to the amount of five millions. More than one half of its business was done by bank credits. This business was confined to commercial cities, where a credit at the bank answered the purposes of merchants as well, and their convenience much better, than bank notes. If North Carolina had her commerce concentrated at one or two points, one or more large commercial cities would grow up. Markets would be found at home for the productions of the state. Foreign merchandise would be imported into the state for the demands of the market; our debts would be contracted at home, and our banks would be enabled to change their course of business. They would give activity to the commerce of the state, and yet issue but a small amount of paper; and this amount would be confined in its circulation almost entirely to the state. To these advantages may be added another of no small moment. The profits of our commerce would be made in North Carolina,

whereas now they are made in other states. The annual profit made upon our commerce in other states, and which is totally lost to North Carolina, is estimated at more than half a million of dollars.' *Memoir, p.* 6.

Speaking in another place on this subject, Judge Murphey further observes,

'Heretofore the productions of the northern parts of the state, lying on the Roanoke and its branches, and also on the upper parts of the Tar and Neuse rivers, have been sent to the markets of Virginia; and the trade of Broad river, the Catawba, and Pedee, has gone to South Carolina. Thus it has happened, that we have shipped from our own ports, not more than one third of our agricultural products; and even a considerable portion of our staves, lumber, and naval stores, have been sent to other ports by the Dismal Swamp canal, on one side; or by the Waccamaw, Little Pedee, and Lumber river on the other. This unfortunate division of our trade produces many bad effects. We have a population little short of seven hundred thousand. We have as many square miles of territory as the state of New York. We have a soil equal to that of most of the Atlantic states; and yet, the total amount of our exports from our own ports falls short of three millions of dollars. The products of our labour go to swell the exports of Virginia and South Carolina, and give to those states a commercial consequence at our expense.' pp. 39, 40.

Besides the tendency of these local difficulties to impoverish the state, they operate strongly to cool the ardor of public spirit, and to check that laudable pride, which men are so apt to feel, in the growing greatness of the community to which they belong. Those portions of the state, which are obliged to go abroad to seek a market for their produce, it can hardly be expected, will feel much zeal in promoting interests at home, from which they cannot promise themselves adequate benefits. You cannot reasonably look for a community of action, where there is not a very strong assurance of a community of advantage. Men have not yet become so disinterested, as to labour with much spirit for a public good, which does not hold out bright prospects of private gain. Thus divided in their immediate interests, it was a long time before the North Carolinians could bring themselves to unite in any extensive scheme for general improvements. But the noble spirit which they have lately discovered, and the wise measures, which they have at last adopted, are almost sufficient to atone for their past indifference, and to raise them at once to

a political rank in the union, to which other states have scarcely attained by the gradual advances of a century.

The subject was first introduced in the General Assembly of the state in 1815. A committee was appointed, which was chiefly intended for the purpose of investigation. Their report contained a concise view of the condition of the state, pointed out some of its commercial advantages, and exhibited a general plan for improving its inland navigation. It proposed to have companies incorporated in different parts of the state, for constructing canals, and improving the navigation of the principal rivers, with the privilege of levying a toll to any amount not exceeding fifteen per cent on the capital expended. The state was to take one third part of the stock of each company, and the whole was to be under the control of a board of commissioners, appointed by the state. This board was empowered to employ a principal and assistant engineers, to have such surveys made as it should think proper, and was required to report its proceedings annually to the General Assembly. It was also instructed to collect statistical information, to examine the soil, and to make such observations on the mineralogy and geology of the state, as might be compatible with the other objects, and subservient to the interests of science. This plan was adopted by the legislature. The Roanoke and Cape Fear Navigation Companies were soon formed, and the commissioners immediately commenced their operations. They employed some of the most skilful engineers they could find in the country, and for the three years following, they were actively engaged in taking surveys of the large rivers, and of the country between these rivers, where it was thought desirable to have them united by intersecting canals. These rivers were the Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, Cape Fear, Yadkin, Catawba, and some others of less note. Reports were annually made, and such appropriations granted by the legislature, as were equal to the expenses incurred.

The commissioners had found much difficulty in procuring suitable engineers. Early in the year 1819, one of their board, who was at that time in England, was requested to engage an engineer from abroad. And even in England, the number of those, who are eminent in that profession, is so small, that much difficulty was experienced in finding a suitable person. By the advice of Mr. Rennie, and Mr. Telford,

who are considered the first civil engineers in Europe, Mr. Hamilton Fulton was finally engaged at an annual salary of somewhat more than $5300. Mr. Fulton had been employed by the Board of Admiralty, at Bermuda and Malta, and also by the king of Sweden, in laying out the great canal from Gottenburg to the North Sea. In July, 1819, he arrived in North Carolina, and has since been devoted to the objects of the commissioners.

Our readers will easily perceive, by this short sketch, with what wisdom the whole scheme has been formed. The state has taken the precaution to have accurate surveys made of every part, that no expense may hereafter be wasted in attempts, which must ultimately fail. In different parts of our country, we have seen many such abortive attempts, which might have succeeded, or at least the expense of trial been saved, by skilful management at first. The commissioners have also acted on the profoundest principles of policy and economy, in securing the aid of an engineer, in whose skill, judgment, and other qualifications, unlimited confidence can be placed. This is laying a solid foundation. Every thing will have unity of design. Each part will not only sustain itself, but contribute its due share in strengthening the others.

On the arrival of the principal engineer, he was presented by the commissioners with a general system of instructions. The objects embraced in these instructions were arranged under the following heads.

'1. The inlets on the coast.
2. The sounds along the coast.
3. The primary rivers.
4. The junction of two or more rivers by navigable canals.
5. The public highways.
6. The draining of the marshes and swamps of the eastern and southern counties.' p. 20.

These outlines are enough to show on what a large scale the legislature of North Carolina has contemplated its internal improvements. The interests of every section of the state are duly and wisely consulted.

'In the application of the public revenue to the various objects of internal improvement, the legislature has had due regard to the several sections of the state, and is anxious to give effect to a system, which is general, and at the same time definite. One part

of the state requires improvements very different from those required in another. The counties bordering on the mountains are at a distance from markets, and have to rely on land carriage. These counties require good turnpike roads.

'The middle counties are intersected by fine rivers, which are now useless for the purpose of navigation, on account of obstructions, which nature has placed in them. These counties require such obstructions to be removed, and the rivers to be made navigable. The counties in the south and east suffer disease and pestilence from their numerous and extensive swamps and marshes. Their finest lands lie neglected, and labour, instead of being directed to the pursuits of productive agriculture, is turned to making tar, and collecting turpentine. All the counties in the state are interested in improving the inlets on our coast, and in concentrating at a few points our scattered commerce. Individual capital is insufficient to effect any of these great objects. They require the resources of the state; and in no way can those resources be so well applied as in making improvements, which shall aid the health and raise the moral condition of our population; which shall give encouragement to industry and facilities to commerce.' pp. 20, 21.

Along the whole coast of North Carolina is a ridge of sand, separated from the main land in some places by narrow sounds, in others by broad bays. This ridge seems to have been prematurely formed by the eddies occasioned by the counter currents of the gulf stream, and the rivers flowing into the ocean. The sand and alluvial substances, brought down by the rivers, were thus deposited, and in process of time raised into bars and islands. It is this ridge which has always presented the most formidable obstacles to the commerce of North Carolina. The passages, or inlets, through it are shallow and dangerous; and in the whole extent of coast north of Cape Fear, there is only one inlet through which vessels pass. This is called Ocracoke inlet. All the navigation of the Roanoke, the Neuse, and Tar rivers, and of the smaller streams flowing into the Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, is carried on through this inlet. And here the depth of water over the bar in the channel does not exceed fourteen feet; and immediately within the bar is what is called the *swash*, over which there is not usually more than eight feet of water. All vessels drawing more than this depth are obliged to be lightened in passing the swash. This is not only exceedingly inconvenient, but often dangerous. And even after encoun-

tering the difficulties of entering the sound, a passage from this place to the Roanoke is difficult and tedious. It is considered equal in this respect to a voyage from Ocracoke to the West Indies, or New York. The passage is through Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, the first of which is eighty, and the other sixty miles in length.

One of the first objects of the legislature of North Carolina is to remove, as effectually as possible, these obstructions to commerce, by providing a safe and easy access to the rivers which flow into these sounds. Several projects have been started and submitted to the inspection of the principal engineer. They are intended to draw his attention to the most prominent particulars in the examinations and surveys, which he is required to make.

One plan contemplates opening a passage at the lower end of Albemarle sound, through what is commonly called Roanoke inlet. Within the bar at this place is Roanoke island, which is mentioned in the accounts of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to this coast. It is supposed by some, that his vessels passed through an inlet here, and anchored under the island; and it is thought to be a question worthy of examination, whether this channel may not again be opened. This inlet, it is conceived, may have been closed by the opening of new channels in the marshes, through which the waters of Albemarle sound have flowed into Pamlico, and passed out at Ocracoke. By stopping these channels, it is believed the waters of Albemarle would again force their way through the old Roanoke inlet, and open a passage for navigation. But the great expense attending such an undertaking, and its doubtful results, are objections, which no degree of enthusiasm will probably overcome. The circumstance, also, that this would only be providing for the navigation of Albemarle, without benefiting that of Pamlico, renders it exceedingly important, that a permanent inlet should be found at some point farther south.

For this reason it is made a question, whether Ocracoke inlet may not be deepened and improved. But new difficulties start up not less formidable than those above mentioned. From the exposed position of this inlet, the navigation on the coast is dangerous. The counter currents, which are occasioned by the tide and the water coming out of the sound, cause the sand-banks to be perpetually changing. There is, moreover,

a peculiar gurgitating action in the sands here, which, in a very short time, swallow up the entire wrecks of vessels. This prevents the possibility of sinking piers, or of forming any substantial resistance to the force of the waves, or the currents. The *swash* is composed chiefly of mud, which is continually changing its position. An island, which formerly stood near Ocracoke inlet, was broken up by a furious storm, and in a few years was entirely washed away.

A plan, which is thought to be more feasible, than either of the others, is to fix on a point at Beaufort, still farther south. The inlet at this place has not been much used, but it is supposed to be the best on the coast north of Cape Fear. 'It is situated close under the lee shore of Cape Lookout, and protected from the influence of the gulf stream by the promontory and shoals of Cape Fear. It has been found subject to fewer changes, than any of the inlets. It has a depth of fourteen feet of water over the bar; and within the bar there is an extensive and safe harbour.' p. 29. To facilitate the intercourse between this place and the numerous rivers to the north, it is proposed to open canals. A communication may easily be opened with all the large rivers, by a canal from Williamston on the Roanoke, to Washington on the Tar, thence to Newbern on the Neuse; and thence, from some point farther down the Neuse, to Beaufort. Steam boats may be employed to navigate the sounds and large rivers, and there can be little doubt, if such facilities were offered, as the circumstances of the case will admit, that the channel of trade might be diverted entirely to this place.

It is considered of the greatest moment, that some easy and direct communication should be opened with the ocean on the coast north of Cape Fear, by means of which the rich and profitable trade of the Roanoke may be secured to North Carolina. The lands on this river are among the most productive in the United States. 'Its products annually for exportation may be estimated at two and a half millions of dollars. If proper encouragement were given to industry by rendering the river navigable, the products would soon exceed five millions.' It is navigable for steam boats to Halifax, one hundred and thirty miles from its entrance into Albemarle sound. At present a great portion of its produce goes to Norfolk through the Dismal Swamp canal.

It is about thirty years since this canal was commenced. At first it was narrow, and imperfectly constructed; but it has been lately much improved. It is thirty two feet wide, and sufficiently deep for boats carrying sixty hogsheads of tobacco, or two hundred and fifty barrels of flour. It is twenty one miles long, containing seven locks, and supplied with water from lake Drummond, by a small canal three miles in length. This lake, which is near the centre of the swamp, is at least twenty feet higher than the lands on the margin. It is on account of this swell in the surface of the swamp, that the locks are necessary. A smooth and excellent road is nearly finished on one side of the canal throughout its whole extent. During the war, vast quantities of produce passed in this direction to Norfolk. This channel of intercourse is so essential to the prosperity of Norfolk, that the state of Virginia has subscribed very largely to the stock of the Roanoke Navigation Company, with the hope of turning the improved trade of this river through the Dismal Swamp canal. And there is if possible a stronger reason why the state of North Carolina should be desirous of drawing it to the south.

The attention of the principal engineer has furthermore been particularly called to the navigation at the entrance of Cape Fear river. This has hitherto been the principal channel of commerce in the state. The exports from Wilmington have usually been more than twice as much as from all the other ports. Wilmington is thirty miles above the mouth of the river. Twenty miles below the town are the *Flats*, where the water is made shoal by the deposits, which result from the meeting of the tide-waters and the current of the river. No vessel can pass over the flats, which draws more than eleven feet of water. The questions are to be considered, whether the channel at this place may not be deepened; and whether it will not be best to make a port at Smithville, near the mouth of the river, where there is a convenient harbour, and sufficient depth of water.

An examination of the sounds along the coast is also to be made, with a view to ascertain in what manner their navigation can be improved. As yet the labours of the commissioners have been for the most part directed to the primary rivers. Companies have been formed for improving the nav-

igation of all these rivers, and very extensive surveys have been undertaken, and in some instances already finished.

It is observable throughout the United States, that our primary rivers run nearly at right angles with the great ridges of mountains. Hence they are oftener obstructed by falls, than in almost any other country. This is particularly true of the rivers of North Carolina. They pass over frequent beds of granite. In the upper country the navigation is to be improved by canals, locks, and sluices; in the lower, by removing logs, sand-bars, and other obstructions. The commissioners have given detailed instructions to the engineer, to direct his inquiries into the best means of forming junctions by canals between the primary rivers.

On the subject of roads they have said little, as their instructions from the legislature demand a more immediate attention to the internal navigation of the state. But as good roads are very essential to the agriculturalists, particularly in the western and less populous parts, and as these roads would be likely to bring some of the produce from the neighbouring states in that quarter to a market in North Carolina, the principal engineer is required to make such observations as may be in his power, and as may hereafter be useful. It is a question, which, perhaps, will admit of plausible arguments on both sides, whether roads ever ought to be made and kept in repair at a general public expense? Why should industrious farmers in one part of the state, who make their own roads, pay a tax to encourage indolence by aiding the same work in another part? If people will not keep good roads for themselves, it is no more than just, that they should be the sufferers. As a general rule, this is certainly a good one; but it does not seem to hold in those cases where the population is scattered, where roads are made with difficulty, and where, at the same time, they are a great public benefit.

The new roads, which have lately been made to so great an extent in the highlands of Scotland, under the direction of the eminent engineer, Mr. Telford, have been laid off and finished at the joint expense of the government, and the districts through which they pass. In this way two thousand miles of free road have been made, of which the government paid one half of the expense. Mr. Fulton mentions a mode of keeping roads in repair, which is practised in Sweden, and which he says is very effectual. 'That country is divided

into districts. Each district has a governor, who apportions a certain extent of road, to be kept in repair, to each owner and occupier of land, according to the extent of his possession. At the extremity of each portion of the road, the person's name, whose duty it is to keep it in repair, is rudely cut on a board, which is fixed on the side of the road; so that if a traveller meets with a bad piece of road, he notes it down in a book, which is always presented to him when he arrives at the next post-house. In this book there is a number of columns for inserting the name, route, &c. of the person passing; and always one for remarks of this nature. The book is returned to the governor every month, who takes immediate steps to have the roads put in proper order. By this means their roads are inferior to none in the world.' *Report of Surveys*, p. 52. This may be a good practice in Sweden, but we doubt whether it would be productive of so happy effects among the citizens of the United States, as Mr. Fulton may be ready to imagine.

We have thus sketched a very imperfect outline of the plan of internal improvements, which has been adopted in North Carolina. It is not visionary, nor premature, for it was started nearly five years ago, and has been gradually gaining strength, and going into a more extensive operation ever since. If it continues to be prosecuted with the same wisdom, zeal, and enlargement of views, with which it has hitherto been marked, it cannot fail to result in the happiest consequences to the state. The good effects, which it promises, are almost unlimited. They are by no means confined to a general increase of wealth, and temporary excitement of enterprize. A spur will be given to industry; and industry is the guardian of virtue. A people, which is industrious and virtuous, will soon be intelligent. You will not only find vice and moral depravity, but ignorance and intellectual imbecility the companions of indolence. Among an agricultural people, there is no better means of keeping alive an activity of mind, and preserving a purity of manners, than by opening direct and profitable channels of trade. Industry may then look for its amplest rewards; and in a country like ours, it will inevitably be attended with its concomitant blessings of moral excellence, political freedom, mental elevation, and the dignity of a virtuous independence.

After forming a plan, and pointing out what ought to be

done, the next concern of the commissioners was to inquire into the ability of the state to execute it. The second part of Judge Murphey's Memoir is taken up with a minute statistical view of North Carolina, and a thorough investigation of its resources. The result is very encouraging. It appears, that the state may calculate on an annual surplus revenue to the amount of $35,000, without increasing its taxation. It is entitled to a loan from the banks of Newbern and Cape Fear, by which it may have the use of $160,000 for fourteen years. In addition to these sums, the legislature, with the noblest spirit of liberality, appropriated during the last session for the purpose of internal improvements the proceeds of the sale of all the Cherokee lands, which have lately come into the possession of North Carolina. The extent of this tract is not exactly known, but it comprises somewhat more than a million of acres of very valuable land. The following judicious propositions were offered for the consideration of the legislature at the last session; but whether they were accepted we have not been able to learn.

'That an act be passed,

1. For increasing the subscription of the state in all the navigation companies.

2. Appropriating a sum not exceeding $150,000 annually, for seven years, for internal improvements.

3. Out of this appropriation, payments to be first made to the navigation companies of such instalments as are called for during the year, and the balance to be expended, first, in making good roads across the mountains and through the Cherokee country; and secondly, in the execution of such other public works as the legislature shall designate, or the board of public works shall think the interests of the state require.

4. To form a board of public works.

5. To place all the public works under the general superintendance of this board, and under the immediate direction of the principal engineer.' *Memoir*, p. 78.

While on the subject of North Carolina, we cannot resist the inclination which we feel to bring forward one or two other particulars, which exhibit the present condition and future prospects of this state in a most favourable light. In an ardent and increasing zeal for the establishment of schools and academies for several years past, we do not believe it has been

outdone by a single state. The academy at Raleigh was founded in 1804, previously to which there were only two institutions of the kind in the state. The number at present is nearly fifty, and is rapidly increasing. Great pains are taken to procure the best instructers from different parts of the country, and we have the best authority for our opinion, that in no part of the Union are the interests of education better understood, and under better regulations, than in the middle counties of North Carolina. The schools for females are particularly celebrated, and are much resorted to from Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia. In the year 1816, the number of students at academies, within the compass of forty miles, amounted to more than one thousand. This space comprized the counties of Warren, Granville, Orange, Wake, Franklin, and two or three others adjoining. All the useful and ornamental branches of knowledge are taught at most of these institutions.

The University of North Carolina, which is at Chapel-Hill in Orange county, was incorporated about thirty years ago, but did not go into active operation for nearly ten years after. It is at present flourishing, contains more than a hundred students, and promises to become a useful and important institution. It is under the direction of fifty-five trustees, a number, which we think five times too large. We believe few circumstances have contributed more to retard the success of many of our southern colleges, than this propensity, which seems to be almost universal, of appointing at the outset a multitude of trustees. By this means, many are chosen to the office, who are not qualified; individual responsibility is weakened; no one feels the necessity of acting with much energy in a concern, which is entrusted to so many others; and finally nothing is done. Another practice, which is followed in some of the states, must effectually stop the progress of any literary institution. We mean the custom of making the professors' salaries depend on the annual grants of the legislature. Under such circumstance, they are subject to have their salaries reduced, or to be turned out of their places, by the whim or caprice of a party. The only security for stability in the internal government of an institution, and for having professors of high qualifications, is thus destroyed.

In this recurrence to events and circumstances, which redound so much to the credit and honor of North Carolina, we

should do equal injustice to our own feelings, and to the patriotism and generous recollections of the state, not to mention the superb statue, which it has resolved to dedicate to the memory of our great national hero, and which it has employed the first artist in the world to execute. An example has been set, which we hope will be followed. No time was lost in idle debates, and ineffectual resolutions. The feelings which gratitude had awakened, were not allowed to cool by procrastination. In this noble object the legislature acted with promptness and unanimity; and to show with what spirit it continues to be prosecuted we need only mention, that during the last session, a liberal appropriation was made for the purpose of enlarging the state-house, and preparing a more commodious room than it now contains, for the reception of this splendid specimen of the arts. The state-house is a handsome edifice, standing on an elevation in the centre of the beautiful town of Raleigh.

Before we dismiss this subject, we are disposed to carry back the minds of our readers for a few moments to an earlier period in the history of North Carolina. Considerable interest has lately been excited, in some parts of the country, respecting what has been called the Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence. The fact of this declaration has been questioned, but such documents have lately been presented to the public, as must remove every shadow of doubt. It appears that early in the year 1775, a convention was held in the town of Charlotte, composed of two members from each of the military companies in Mecklenburgh county. The object of the convention was to take into consideration the existing state of things, and to deliberate on the best measures for resisting the encroachments, which were making by a foreign enemy on their liberties and property. Their deliberations soon terminated in a unanimous agreement to throw off all allegiance to the government of Great Britain, and declare themselves independent. Resolutions to this effect were passed on the 19th of May, more than thirteen months before the declaration of independence by the congress, and they were on the same day publicly proclaimed 'amidst the shouts and huzzas of a large assembly of people.' The following extract is taken from a certificate, which has lately been published under the hands of four persons, who were present at the convention, and who are still living.

'We do further certify and declare, that in a few days after the delegates adjourned, Captain James Jack, of the town of Charlotte, was appointed to carry the resolves to the president of congress, and to our representatives, one copy to each, and that his expenses were to be paid by a voluntary subscription. We know that Captain Jack executed the trust, and returned with answers, both from the president, and our delegates in congress, expressive of their entire approbation of the course, that had been pursued, and recommending a continuance in the same;—and stating that the time would soon come, when the whole continent would follow our example.'

In a certificate which has lately been obtained from Mr. Jack, who is now living in Georgia, he observes,

'When the resolutions were finally agreed on, they were publicly proclaimed from the court-house door, in the town of Charlotte, and received with every demonstration of joy by the inhabitants.

'I was then solicited to be the bearer of these proceedings to congress. I set out in the following month, and in passing through Salisbury, the general court was sitting. At the request of the court I handed a copy of the resolutions to Col. Cannon, an attorney, and they were read aloud in open court. Major William Davidson, and Mr. Avery, an attorney, called on me the evening after, and observed they had heard of but one person, who did not approve them.'

From this statement we perceive, that the feelings, which dictated these resolutions, were not confined to a small space, but were diffused throughout a large portion of the state. The second and third resolves contained in the declaration will afford a good specimen of the spirit by which the whole is characterized.

'Resolved, That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg country, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connexion, contract, or association with that nation, which has wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

'Resolved, That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other

than that of God, and the general government of the congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour.'

The resolutions forming the declaration of independence were drawn up by Dr. Ephraim Brevard.

Several original documents relating to this event, and signed by persons, who took an active part in the Mecklenburgh convention, have been published within a few months past in the Raleigh Register. They have been procured by the exertions of Mr. Joseph Gales, editor of this paper; the Hon. Nathaniel Macon, senator in congress; and Col. William Polk of Raleigh, who was present in Charlotte, when the declaration was read to the people. This evidence we take to be such as must produce entire conviction, and the fact, which it goes to establish, speaks for itself. We leave it to our readers to make their own reflections on the patriotic zeal, and lofty spirit of freedom, which glowed with so much fervour in the bosoms of the North Carolinians at a period, when almost every other part of the country was yielding to despondency, perplexed with anxious doubts, or acting with timid caution.

Of Williamson's history of North Carolina, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article, we have little more to say, than that we have seldom attempted to read, in the shape of history, so meagre, and so unsatisfactory a performance. It contains but few facts, and these, one would suppose, the author took pains to select from the most unimportant of such as had fallen in his way. It is but just to say, that Dr. Williamson did not reside long in the state, and that his means of obtaining information seem to have been limited. It is certainly unfortunate, that his book should go abroad purporting to be an accurate and complete history. North Carolina was among the first states that were settled; many events in its history are of the most interesting kind; and it would be no less a gratification and benefit to the public, than an honour to the state, to have them faithfully and fully recorded by some able hand.

ART. III.—*Vie Privée de Voltaire et de Madame du Châtelet pendant un séjour de six mois à Cirey ; par l'auteur des Lettres Peruviennes, suivie de cinquante lettres inédites, en vers et en prose, de Voltaire.* 1 vol. 8vo, Paris, 1820.

THE letters, which compose the greater part of this work, were written by Madame de Graffigny during a visit of six months at the Château of Cirey, the residence of the Marquis and Marchioness du Châtelet, and where Voltaire was also at the same time a guest. The name of the writer is not much known in the literary world, and she published nothing in her life time but the 'Peruvian Letters,' a work which we have not had the pleasure of inspecting, but which we understand, belongs to the class of sentimental novels, and enjoys a pretty high reputation in the boarding schools. The present series of letters is also a sort of romance, though a narrative of real events ; and to our taste even more interesting than the sorrows of the tender Zilia in the novel just mentioned, as far as we can form a conjecture in regard to the latter. The story of this little romance of real life is briefly the following. Madame de Graffigny had long been inflamed with an eager desire to make the acquaintance of Voltaire, under the influence of the common delusion, that the conversation and social habits of a distinguished author must be as agreeable as his writings. Her wishes had long been frustrated by the same cause which now prevents our worthy countryman, Captain Symmes, from exploring the interior of the earth through the opening which he has discovered at the North Pole ; 'the want of disposable means.' Chill penury had for a long time repressed her noble rage, for Madame de Graffigny, though rich in sentiment and even familiar in the best society, in regard to funds was poor indeed, as we shall see hereafter. By great good luck, while she was on a visit at the residence of one of her friends, which she pleasantly denominates the *Château de l'Ennui*, another of the number arrived on a visit with her own equipage. An opening was thus made for Madame de Graffigny to take her projected journey free of expense, of which she availed herself at once. 'The first compliment I made her, says our author, was to ask the loan of her horses, which was granted,' and the next morning she commenced her expedition at sunrise, and proceeded very prosperously till half past one o'clock. Thus far every thing

went well, but at that time, for reasons not sufficiently explained, the coachman refused to go any farther, our sentimental traveller was obliged to resort to the post, and after floundering along dismally over the most detestable roads, and wallowing half the way on foot through the mire to avoid being overset, she arrived at last at Cirey, at two o'clock at night, having spent her last *sol* upon her horses and postillions. *Il ne me restait pas ce qu'on appelle un sol.* Two o'clock at night would be rather an unpropitious hour in ordinary cases to arrive at a friend's house in the country upon a visit; but the inhabitants of Cirey kept no ordinary hours, as we shall see. They were all up and doing. The Nymph and the Idol, as she ingeniously styles Madame du Châtelet and Voltaire, were each hard at study, in their respective cabinets. She first paid her respects to the former and then repaired to her own apartment, where the Idol immediately came up to see her, and received her with great kindness. 'Your idol came up a moment after, holding a little candle in his hand, like a monk. He lavished a thousand caresses upon me, and the expressions of his joy at seeing me were quite extravagant. He kissed my hand ten times, and inquired after my health with an air of the most touching interest.'

Such is the opening of the little sentimental drama we are reviewing, all flowers and sunshine. Madame de Graffigny approached the shrine of her Idol, with the same enthusiasm that our young travelling scholars now feel, when they are admitted to an interview with Lord Byron, or Sir Walter Scott; and for eight or ten days, all went on very well. The conversation is delightful, the suppers are divine, and the manuscripts they give her to read irresistible. Voltaire is always charming, always attentive. She sees that he is afraid she shall be *ennuyée*, but he is much in the wrong. *Ennuyée* in the same house with Voltaire, impossible! She has not even leisure to remember that there is such a thing as *ennui* in the world. She is as hearty as the Pont Neuf, and as busy as a mouse, and she sleeps like a child. The Nymph is indeed a little cold, but she soon grows familiar. Our author cannot help laughing in her sleeve, at their ridiculous fanaticism about Newton and geometry, but upon the whole she finds them the most agreeable companions, and Cirey quite an enchanted Castle.

This fine weather lasts unfortunately but a little time, and

it is soon pretty evident from the style of the letters that a storm is gathering. The inmates of Cirey, like most other persons of genius, or in other words of keen sensibility, were humorous and susceptible, and they speedily took mortal offence at a proceeding on the part of Madame de Graffigny, which, taking her own account of it to be true, appears to have been really very innocent. Voltaire employed himself occasionally at this period of his life in writing cantos of a Poem, called the Maid of Orleans, which he used to read in private to his particular friends, but had pretty good reasons for keeping entirely from public view. Madame de Graffigny was treated with a hearing of one of these precious compositions; and about the same time or soon after intelligence was conveyed to the Idol, that copies of the same canto were in circulation at Luneville, the residence of the correspondent of Madame de Graffigny. For the better understanding of the grounds of this quarrel, it may be proper to observe, that the inmates of Cirey were in the laudable practice of opening all the letters, that passed to and from their guests. Having found in one addressed to Madame de Graffigny, by her correspondent the following phrase, *Le chant de Jeanne est charmant*, they naturally enough put the two circumstances together, and concluded that she had taken a copy of it by some underhand means and sent it to her correspondent, who, we may remark *en passant* was Mr. Deveaux, reader to the Ex-King of Poland, Stanislaus Leczinski, then resident at Luneville. In her sportive moments she gives him the polite and endearing title of *great dog*. Madame de Graffigny confidently maintains in her letters her innocence of the charge in question, declaring that she had only made some remarks upon the plan of the canto, and that in the phrase above cited, the word *plan* should have been used instead of *chant*. As these letters are private communications to the very persons to whom the canto was supposed to be sent, her justification is certainly plausible. But with all our respect for the delicate feelings of this very sentimental person, we must be permitted to remark that, under all the circumstances, and with the same means of information possessed by the Nymph and Idol, we should hardly have hesitated in drawing the same conclusion; and we are even not without some suspicions that the charge was substantially true.

Be that as it may, the discovery of this offence, real or

pretended, was followed by a terrible explosion ; and from this moment the face of things at the castle changes entirely for Madame de Graffigny ; no more charming conversations, no more divine suppers, no more delicious manuscripts. Her eyes grow dim with weeping ; she is attacked by the vapours ; and this residence, where the name of Ennui was never heard of before, is now the dullest spot in the world. *C'est l'endroit du monde le moins divertissant.* The very resource of her ordinary friendly and confidential correspondence with *Great Dog* fails her ; since she finds that her letters are regularly opened. But how to get away without a *sol* in her pocket ? This last difficulty aggravates all the rest. She worries along in blank sadness and continual tears two or three months, till at length an intimate friend, having, it would seem, some pretensions to a nearer title, makes his appearance, ostensibly to relieve the distressed damsel from her tedious thraldom. His presence revives her hopes, restores her health and eyes, drives off the vapours, and gives the castle and her correspondence all its former gaiety. But this is only a prelude to the last and that the unkindest cut of all. The correspondance terminates abruptly by a short letter, in which the broken hearted fair-one informs her friend, that the supposed lover had made her the tender avowal of his complete indifference, and we are even left entirely in the dark about the manner, in which she found her way back to Paris. Thither however she went, and not long after published the Peruvian letters. It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The Editor intimates that the disastrous catastrophe we have just mentioned suggested the plan of this, we doubt not, very instructive work ; the writer having depicted her own feelings in those of the tender and desolate Zilia, and represented her cruel and perfidious lover under the character of the false hearted Aza ; with what success we must leave it to the fair readers of their history to judge.

Such, if we may be allowed to moralize a little on a subject of this importance, is the ordinary course of things on a small scale, as well as on a great one. When delusive dreams and exaggerated hopes lead the van, disappointment early and complete is pretty sure to bring up the rear. But we confess that we have hardly seen, within so small a compass of time, place and action, so entire a change of views upon the same subject ; and we have derived no small amusement from comparing

the opposite judgments that are delivered at different periods, according to the prevailing disposition of the writer, upon the character of Voltaire. This is sufficiently illustrated in what we have already said of the rapid change in the opinions which Madame de Graffigny entertains and expresses, in the course of a few letters; and will still farther appear from the extracts, which we shall lay before our readers in the course of this article. The most valuable part however of the work is the notices it contains of the manners and pursuits of the principal personages.

The following description of Voltaire's apartments and mode of life at Cirey will perhaps afford amusement to our readers.

'I wrote you yesterday till supper; I was called to supper and conducted to an apartment which I recognized immediately for that of Voltaire. He came to receive me; nobody else had arrived, and yet I had no time even to cast a glance around, for we went immediately to table. Here I was quite happy; but I should not have been as much so as I ought, if I had not compared this supper with that of the preceding evening. What a thing life is! Yesterday in the darkness and mud, and to-day on enchanted ground! So that I seasoned my supper both with what was within me and without me. But of what did we talk? Of poetry, sciences and arts, and all in a tone of *badinage* and good breeding. I would fain transmit to you this charming, this enchanting conversation, but that is beyond me. The supper was not abundant, but well chosen, neat and delicate, with a great service of plate. Opposite to me there were five globes, and an apparatus for natural philosophy, for we supped in the little gallery. Voltaire was at my side as polite and attentive as he is amiable and learned. M. du Châtelet was on the other side of me; this is my regular place, in virtue of which my left ear is sweetly charmed, while the right is ennuyée very slightly, for he speaks little and retires when the meal is finished. With the desert are introduced perfumes, and a conversation as agreeable as instructive ensues. They talked volumes, as you may suppose. There was mention made of Rousseau [Jean Baptiste.] It is there that he shows himself but man after all. He is capable of being irreconcilably offended with any one who should praise Rousseau. At last they talked of poems of all sorts. "As for that," said the lady, "I cannot bear odes." "Fie," said the Idol, "what is an ode? It is the smallest merit in the world to make one. Galimatias, rhapsodies, and above all, this in the *marotic* style, the most detestable thing in the world. I cannot conceive how decent people can read such things.'

'Voltaire is always so charming and so devoted to my amuse-

ment! His attention is never exhausted. You can see that he fears I shall be ennuyée, but he is wrong. To be ennuyée near Voltaire! Heavens, this is not possible. I have not even leisure to think that there is such a thing as ennui in the world. So I am as hearty as the Pont Neuf and as gay as a mouse; whether from eating less or having my mind strongly and agreeably excited, I know not. I cannot explain it, but so it is, that I sleep like a child. In a word, I feel by an experience before almost unknown to me that pleasant occupation is the moving spring of life. To relish it the better I sometimes make comparisons of time. The lady, at first rather cold, becomes courteous by degrees, and we end by joking each other. She is in truth admirable in her duties and her judgments. I wait a longer acquaintance to describe her to you; and I will do the same with respect to Voltaire, for I have learned to beware of prepossession. It is for instance a great pleasure to me to laugh in my sleeve at their *fanaticism* about Newton, and to hear people of so much sense talking nonsense from the power of prejudice. I enter into no disputes, as you will readily believe, but I take advantage of these things for the knowledge of the heart, and I endeavour to abstain from being prepossessed or prejudiced for or against any sentiment, even that of friendship. I have but too firmly resolved but to give my love to you, and to seek nothing but passing amusement elsewhere. This is my profession of faith, which I renew every day. For the rest you can write me at your ease. One pays no postage here. Is not this civil? I should be glad if they also franked the letters which are written from here. Adieu, my friend, for to-night.

'Between half past ten and half past eleven every body is called to coffee. This is taken in Voltaire's gallery. I have written you from day to day an account of the conversations here. This lasts till noon, an hour more or less, as the company has assembled earlier or later. At twelve o'clock *the coachmen*, as they are called, dine; these coachmen are no other than M. du Châtelet, the fat lady and her son, who never appears but to copy. We remain a half an hour, Voltaire, the lady and I; he then makes us a low bow and dismisses us. Each one then goes to his chamber. At four o'clock there is occasionally a luncheon, at which the family meets again. I seldom go except called, which is not always. At nine o'clock we sup and remain together till midnight. Heavens, what suppers: it is always that of Damocles; all the pleasures are combined, but alas how short the time is. How just is the comparison; nothing is wanting, not even the sword which is represented in the swift flight of time! M. du Chatelet sits down, eats nothing, sleeps, of course says nothing, and goes out with the covers. To be much alone and then to have good company is the

life I would choose, nor is it without its charms. The brother [M. de Breteuil the brother of Madame du Châtelet] is very amiable, pleasant and sensible. He is going away on Friday. Yesterday after supper there was a charming scene. Voltaire was vexed that the lady would not let him drink a glass of Rhenish wine; he refused to read Joan to us as he had promised, and was in the highest degree of ill humour. The brother and myself by dint of pleasantries succeeded in bringing him to himself: the lady who had also been pouting, could not hold out, and the whole became a scene of the most delightful pleasantries, which lasted a great while, and was equal to the canto of Joan, with which it ended. I have not found it so very pretty, though I laughed at passages.

The following passage, written after the quarrel, is in a different tone. It gives an account of the manner in which Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet pursued their studies. It will be seen, as we observed before, that they kept no common hours, especially the lady.

'Speaking of *works*, I will tell you how much they study. She passes the night almost invariably, till five or six o'clock in the morning, at study. She keeps in her chamber the son of the fat lady, an honest Israelite, whom she employs as a copyist, but who does not understand a word of her writing. You think, I suppose, that after this she ought to sleep till three o'clock in the afternoon. Not at all. She rises at nine or ten o'clock in the morning, and at six when she has gone to bed at four o'clock, which she calls going to bed at cock crowing. In a word, she sleeps but two hours a day, and leaves her desk in the whole twenty-four hours only at breakfast, which lasts an hour, and during supper and the hour after. Sometimes she eats a morsel at five in the afternoon, but it is at her desk and that rarely.

'On the other hand, when Voltaire undertakes to leave his work for half a quarter of an hour, in the course of the day, to visit me and the fat lady, he never sits. "What a frightful thing it is," he says, "the time *that is lost in talking*; that one ought not to lose a moment; *that the greatest extravagance is spending time.*" This is the strain, year in and year out. At the hour of supper he is still at his desk; supper half done, he quits it, and you must lay hands upon him to keep him from going back to it, the moment he has supped. He puts himself on duty to tell a few pleasant stories during supper; but it is easy to see that it is from mere politeness, and that his mind is far away. This is the mode of life, since the departure of Madame's brother, who, by the way, was here but eight days. Do you find this a pleasant sort of life;

was not I right in saying to the little saint : *Vivent les sots?* Besides, Voltaire is the most unhappy man alive. He knows his reputation, and praise is a matter of indifference to him. But for the same reason, a word from his enemies drives him crazy. He can think of nothing else, and it fills him with bitterness. I cannot give you an idea of this folly, but by assuring you that it is more powerful and wretched, than his talents are vast and comprehensive. Add to this, that he is subject to the *vapours*, of which he will not hear a word, which are caused by his jealousies, good man, and then he thinks he is at the point of death. He is constantly physicking, and has got a whim into his head, that abstinence is necessary, and so he is dying with hunger. Judge of the happiness of these people, whom we consider to have arrived at the summit of felicity. The quarrels, of which I told you at the beginning, are going on ; judge again. This grieves me, because I feel the worth of all his good qualities, and because he really deserves to be happier. I would gladly tell him all I think of this, but dare not.'

Whatever may have been the nature of the connexion between Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet, which we believe is not entirely made out in the scandalous chronicle, but which there is too much reason to suppose from the prevailing manners of the time was not perfectly Platonic, she appears to have exercised a very considerable empire over his mind. This may have resulted in part from the ascendency of her high rank and titles. There are some amusing anecdotes of their little domestic differences, which are generally in rather too gossiping a style to suit the gravity of our work. The following however may serve as a specimen.*

' Et moi aussi je me suis couchée, car il était une heure et demie du matin. Bonjour, mon ami, tu vois que ma première pensée est pour toi, ainsi allons donc notre train. Voltaire arrive ; la fantasie prend la *dame* de lui faire mettre un autre habit : il est vrai que le sien n'était pas beau ; mais il était bien poudré, et avait de belles dentelles. Il dit beaucoup de bonnes raisons pour n'en rien faire. que cela réfroidirait, et qu'il s'enrhumait de rien ; enfin il eut la complaisance d'envoyer chercher son valet de chambre, pour avoir un habit ; il ne le trouva pas dans l'instant ; il crut en être quitte ; point du tout, la persécution recom-

* We have left this and our remaining extracts in the original ; as well to afford a specimen of the style of the work, as to gratify such of our readers as —in the dearth of new French books among us—might prefer the original to a translation.

mença, la vivacité prend à Voltaire, il lui parle vivement en Anglais, et sort de sa chambre ; on envoie un moment après l'appeler, il fait dire qu'il a la colique, et voila Mérope au diable. J'etais furieuse ; la *dame* me pria de lire tout haut les dialogues de M. Algarotti, je lus, et ris comme le matin : enfin arriva un monsieur du voisinage ; je me levai en disant que j'allais voir Voltaire ; la dame me dit de tâcher de le ramener. Je le trouvai avec la dame qui est ici, qui, par parenthese, m'a l'air de être sa confidente ; il etait de fort bonne humeur, il pensa oublier qu'il avait la colique. Nous causions déjà depuis un moment, lorsque la *dame* nous envoya appeler : enfin il revint ; et cet homme qui venait de rire avec nous, reprit de l'humeur en rentrant dans la chambre, sous la prétexte de la colique ; il se mit dans un coin et ne dit mot. Quelque temps après le seigneur Châtelet sortit, les boudeurs se parlerent en Anglais ; et la minute après, *Mérope* parut sur la scène. Voila le premier signe d'amour que j'ai vu, car ils se conduisent avec une décence admirable ; *mais elle lui rend la vie un peu dure.* Je ne te fais ce long détail que pour te mettre au fait de la façon dont ils sont ensemble.

' Enfin, il lut deux actes de *Mérope :* je pleurai au premier ; ce sont toujours de beaux vers et de beaux sentimens, mais les scènes filées sont manquées ; il y échoue assez ordinairement. Je ne t'en dirai plus rien, que je ne l'aie toute entendue. Après cette lecture nous disputâmes sur la pièce, la dame et moi jusqu'au souper : elle ne l'aime pas, et la tourne en ridicule tant qu'elle peut ; ce qui ne plaisait guère au pauvre Voltaire, qui était comme un patiente, sans oser se mêler en rien de notre dispute. C'est avec ton esprit que j'ai disputé ; car elle soutenait qu'on ne pouvait être touché sans raisonner, et moi je soutenait qu'il fallait l'être par sentiment. Je ne disais que ce que je t'ai entendu dire, et que ce que tu m'as si bien appris à sentir. L'auteur avait si peur d'être encore querellé, que le peu qu'il disait était contre moi, en convenant cependant qu'il était presque impossible de faire les changemens qu'elle exigeait. Le souper a été comme un souper de Luneville ; on se battait les flancs pour parler et personne ne disait mot. Après le souper, nous avons regardé la sphere, Voltaire, la grosse dame et moi ; car la belle nymphe ne parloit pas, elle faisait semblant de dormir.'

The ruling passion of the fair Emily was the love of geometry, and she thought that no other study was worth pursuing. She tried to persuade Voltaire not to write poetry, and made him publish a work upon the Newtonian philosophy, which was the principal means of first introducing it into France. He was employed at this time upon the *age of Louis XIV.* but

it found no favour in the eyes of the Nymph, and she actually took the manuscript from him and locked it up in her own desk, refusing to let him finish it under pretence, that there was no use in writing a work, which could not be printed when it was done. Partly from personal jealousy and partly from a fear that he would commit himself by imprudent publications, his motions were all so narrowly observed by her, that he could not move from one apartment in the house to another, without having a servant sent after him to call him back. *Never man,* says Madame de Graffigny, *was so strictly watched or enjoyed so little liberty.* The following anecdote will give an idea of this sort of *surveillance.* Voltaire was writing a reply to some attack that had been made upon him, which the Nymph did not think it prudent for him to publish, and which he was of course obliged to keep out of her sight and knowledge. Maupertuis, the philosopher, being on a visit there at the time, Voltaire watched his opportunity one day when he thought Madame du Châtelet entirely occupied with lines and angles, and sent for Madame de Graffigny, thinking to indulge himself with reading her in private a portion of his defence. Before he could finish the first sentence, says our sentimental Peruvian, Madame du Châtelet appeared at the door, her eyes flashing and her countenance pale with anger. After a moment of mutual silence and embarrassment, she said to me, 'Madame, with your permission I wish to speak to *Monsieur.*' I pretended not to hear her, and kept my seat. Voltaire then took courage and addressed her thus, '*Eh bien! oui!* I am reading something to Madame; is there any crime in that?' She attempted to restrain her rage, and began to criticise and find fault with the work. Voltaire replied, and the dispute was growing warm, when the lady, unable to contain herself, went out in a fury.

Madame du Châtelet, with all her activity and perseverance, seems to have brought but little to pass. It was charitably said of her by one of her intimate female friends, that *smoke without fire was the emblem of her character.* Her commentaries on Newton are, we believe, but little valued, and she is now remembered only by the place she holds in the history of the life of Voltaire.

The private habits of these persons are detailed in an amusing way in a letter from Madame de Stäel, née de Launey, to Madame du Deffand, published with this collection. The following passages are extracts :

'*Madame du Châtelet* et *Voltaire*, qui s'étoient annoncés pour aujourd'hui et qu'on avait perdus de vue, parurent hier sur le minuit, comme deux spectres, avec une odeur de corps embarmés qu'ils semblaient avoir apportée de leurs tombeaux; on sortait de table; c'étaient pourtant des spectres affamés: il leur fallut un souper et, qui plus est, des lits qui n'étaient pas préparés. Les concierge, déjà couché, se leva à grande hâte. *Gaya*, qui avait offert son logement pour les cas pressans, forcé de le céder dans celui-ci, déménagea avec autant de précipitation et de déplaisir qu'une armée surprise dans son camp, laissant une partie de son bagage au pouvoir de l'ennemi. Voltaire s'est bien trouvé du gîte, cela n'a point du tout consolé *Gaya*. Pour la dame, son lit ne s'est pas trouvé bien fait, il a fallu la déloger aujourd'hui. Notez que ce lit elle l'avait fait, elle même, faute de gens, et avait trouvé un défaut dedans ses matelas, ce que je crois, a plus blessé son esprit exact que son corps délicat: elle a par *interim* un appartement qui a été promis, et qu'elle laissera vendredi ou samedi pour celui du Maréchal de *Maillebois*, qui s'en va un de ces jours.'

'Nos revenans ne se montrent point le jour. Ils apparurent hier à dix heures du soir; je ne pense par qu'on les voie guère plutôt adjourd'hui; l'un est a décrire de hauts faits, l'autre à commenter Newton. Ils ne veulent ni jouer ni se promener; ce sont bien de nonvaleurs dans une société où leurs doctes écrits ne sont d'aucun rapport. Voici bien pis: l'apparition de ce soir a produit une déclamation vehemente contre la licence de se choisir des tableaux au cavagnole; cela a été poussé sur un ton qui nous est tout à-fait inoui, et soutenu avec une modération non moins surprenante.'

'Madame du Châtelet est d'hier á son troisième logement; elle ne pouvait plus supporter celui qu'elle avait choisi. Il y avait du bruit, *de la fumée sans feu. Il me semble que c'est son emblème.* Le bruit, ce n'est pas la nuit qu'il l'incommode à ce qu'elle m'a dit, mais le jour, au fort de son travail: cela derange ses idées. Elle fait actuellement la revue de ses *principes*: c'est un exercice qu'elle réitère chaque année, sans quoi ils pourraient s'échapper; et peut-être s'en aller si loin qu'elle n'en retrouverait pas un seul. Je crois bien que sa tête est pour eux une maison de force et non pas le lieu de leur naissance: c'est le cas de veiller soigneusement à leur garde. Elle prefère le bonheur de cette occupation à tout amusement, et persiste à ne se montrer qu' à la nuit close. Voltaire a fait des vers galans, qui réparent un peu le mauvais effet de leur conduite inusitée.'

—'La principale actrice Madame du Châtelet préférant les intérêts de sa figure à ceux de la pièce, a paru sur le théâtre avec tout

l'éclat et l'élégante parure d'une dame de cour; elle eut sur ce point maille à partir avec Voltaire ; *mais c'est la souveraine et lui l'esclave.* Je suis très fâchée de leur départ quoiqu' excédée de ses diverses volontés dont elle m'avait remis l'execution.'

'En tout cas on vous garde un bon appartement ; c'est celui dont Madame du Châtelet, après une revue exacte de toute la maison, s'était emparée. Il y aura un peu moins de meubles qu'elle n'y en avait mis ; car elle avait divasté tout ceux par où elle avait passé pour garnir celui-là. On y a trouvé six ou sept tables : il lui en faut de toutes les grandeurs ; d' immenses pour étaler ses papiers, de solides pour soutenir son necessaire, de plus légères pour ses pompons, pour ses bijous ; et cette belle ordonnance ne l'a pas garantie d'un accident pareil à celui qui arriva à Philippe quand après avoir passé la nuit à écrire on répandit une bouteille d'encre sur ses dépêches. La dame ne s'est pas piquée d'imiter la moderation de ce prince ; aussi n'avait il écrit que sur des affaires d' état ; et ce qu 'on lui a barbouillé c'était de l'algèbre bien plus difficile á remettre au net.

'En voilà trop sur le même sujet, qui doit être épuisé ; je vous en dirai pourtant encore un mot, et cela sera fini. Le lendemain du dipart, je reçois une lettre de quatre pages, de plus un billet dans le même paquet, qui m'annonce un grand désarroi ; M. de Voltaire a égaré sa piece, oublié de rétirer les rôles et perdu le prologue ; il m'est enjoint de retrouver le tout, d'envoyer au plus vite le prologue, non par la poste, *parcequ'on le copierait ;* de garder les rôles crainte du même accident, et d'enfermer la piece *sous cent clefs.* J'aurais cru un loquet suffisant pour garder ce trésor ! J'ai bien dûment exécuté les ordres.'

But perhaps we have dwelt too long already upon these 'follies of the wise,' the narrative of which is after all but little better than mere scandal. It would even be imprudent to place too much confidence in the strict correctness of all these details, as the fair writers no doubt embellished the facts a little, to give effect to the picture, and make their correspondence interesting.

No individual, without deviating from a purely literary career, ever turned his talents for writing to so good an account during his lifetime as Voltaire, whether we regard his reputation as an author, the wealth he acquired, or his standing in the best society of Europe. Philosophers and poets have before and since associated with the rich and great, but generally on an unequal footing. Racine and Molière figured at the court of Louis XIV, as elegant flatterers, as the min-

isters of their master's pleasure; and one of his frowns was enough to sink them into the grave. Voltaire on the contrary was courted and caressed by the two greatest sovereigns of his time, and corresponded with them all his life, in the most familiar way. If they lost their respect for him, instead of dying with chagrin like Racine, he abused them in his turn, and they were glad to make advances to a reconciliation. Poverty has hitherto been the epidemic plague in the republic of letters; and no effectual vaccination has ever yet been provided against it. Voltaire, without any hereditary fortune, placed himself very early in life by the proceeds of his writings, in an easy situation, and his wealth continuing to increase with his years, he became at last one of the most affluent private gentlemen in Europe. Far from living in a humiliating pecuniary dependence on the great with whom he associated, he lent them money. The Maréchal de Richelieu was a long time in his debt, and perhaps never paid what he owed him. He lived at his castle at Ferney like a sort of independent sovereign, and received from all quarters the homage of his admirers, who went away enchanted with the vivacity of his conversation, and the politeness and elegance of his social habits. Some persons have affected to speak with an air of mystery of his pecuniary resources, as if they had been of a corrupt character. Nothing however can be more improbable. We have seen that he lost instead of gaining by his titled friends, and the art of raising money by legerdemain, if it was ever known, has long since perished. He has himself explained the secret of his wealth in the little tract, entitled *Memoirs of his own life.* It is as simple in itself as it is honourable to his good sense and independent character, and bears internal evidence of being the true one. *Il faut être économe dans sa jeunesse: on accumule insensiblement un fonds.* This he says was the maxim upon which he proceeded, and we have seen with what success. He was besides one of the best managers of money in Europe, and was not like some of our men of genius, who are above the vulgar care of their own interest, though they are not above ruining their friends. He employed a part of his property in profitable commercial enterprizes, and superintended with great care the investment of the whole.

Whatever may be said of the injustice of contemporaries, and the unerring impartiality of posterity, we are of opinion,

hat the best security and prognostic of a high posthumous reputation is a high contemporary one. The world, though not over ceremonious and perhaps at times a little capricious, is generally clear-sighted and substantially just. Every rule, however, admits of exceptions, and it is a fair question in regard to any individual, whether future ages will confirm the judgment that was passed upon him, by the one in which he lived. One of Voltaire's enemies, Freron, we believe, being asked whether his reputation would stand the test of time, pointed to the hundred volumes of his works, and replied in the negative, observing that 'no man's character could support a long journey under the weight of so much baggage.' There is no great force however in this remark. Most of the writers, who enjoy the highest reputation, have published a great deal that is not read; and their fame often rests upon one or two of their shortest productions. Fénélon was the author of forty or fifty more or less voluminous works, but is only known by the Telemachus. Bossuet wrote as many, but we hear of him only by the Funeral Orations and the Discourse on universal History, excepting that a few theological students look into the Variations. No voluminous author has perhaps ever written in proportion to the extent of his works less that will finally be overlooked and forgotten, than Voltaire. His productions of great and acknowledged value, with his correspondence, made up the bulk of the collection, and there is much reason to anticipate that the letters will be hereafter at least as interesting, if not more so, than the rest, as well from their elegant and lively style, as from the high standing of the persons to whom they are addressed. The remark of Freron is therefore unfounded. With a view to elucidate the point in question, we propose to make a few cursory observations upon the principal works of Voltaire, which on other accounts may not be wholly uninteresting to our readers, although from the little room we have left for it, our notice must necessarily be extremely superficial.

The Henriade is the first in the order of time of Voltaire's important works, and as a serious epic, the first in pretensions, but by general consent not one of the first in value. As we hold it to be very clear that an epic is not more difficult of execution and does not require higher powers of any kind, than any long poem of the elevated class, a tragedy for example, in which Voltaire succeeded, we must look for the reason of

his comparative failure to something else beside want of talent. The fact probably is, that this poem was written at too early an age, and does not exhibit the maturity of the author's powers. The mind like the body advances in some individuals, by a slow and regular progress, and in others takes greater strides in a short time. The talent of Virgil took a start of this description in the interval between the Culex and the Georgics, and the productions of Goëthe, prior to the Sorrows of Werther, would never be suspected of coming from the same pen with that work. They are cold, childish and silly, although some of them were of as late an age as two or three and twenty, while in Werther, which followed immediately after, *the pen*, as was said of Rousseau, *burns the paper*. Pope, on the contrary, wrote nearly as well at twelve and fourteen as he ever did, and with almost as much maturity of thought, at least if we can believe that he produced at that age the imitations of Chaucer. Between the time when Voltaire wrote the Henriade and the best of his tragedies, which were his next publications, an interval of several years elapsed, in the course in which he kept his faculties in constant exercise, and, besides, enjoyed the advantages of visiting several foreign countries, and the still greater advantage of being persecuted. Persecution, which crushes a weak mind, unfolds to a strong one the secret of its own powers, that no other process can ever thoroughly develop. We venture to say, that no man was ever great in any department of intellectual exertion, whose soul had not, in some way or other, been tempered in the fiery furnace of adversity. It is no objection to this remark to say, that instances may be produced, in which the greatest men have apparently run through a career of uninterrupted prosperity. 'The heart knoweth his own bitterness,' says the scripture, and its secret trials are not always the least severe. To take an example. For any thing that is publicly known the fine poet that has touched the enchanting chords of the 'Northern Harp' with such exquisite taste and skill, has led a life of constant success and ease. But what says the epilogue to the Lady of the Lake?

'* * * Secret griefs the world has never known;
'That I endured, such woes, enchantress, is thine own.'

We may add, however, for the consolation of those who are ambitious of greatness, that considering the tolerable mixture

of evil which enters into the present state of things, there is no great reason to fear that any body will be in want of this necessary but unfortunately not sole condition.

To return from this digression to the Henriade, it is sometimes said that the subject is not a remarkably fortunate one, but although we agree in this opinion, we consider it no apology for the want of success, as the accident of choosing the best subjects never happens to any but the very best writers. The truth is after all that the Henriade is a much better poem than is generally supposed by those, who, without having read it, take their opinion of it from critics who are probably in the same predicament. In France, though it is not considered quite so good as the best tragedies of its author, it is much valued and much read. We do not mean to say that it can be compared with either of the four great epics: but these happen to be the productions upon which their writers laid out their whole stock of intellectual wealth, particularly the Jerusalem and the Paradise Lost. For with regard to the Iliad and Æneid, the former is indebted for a large part of its reputation to its curiosity as a literary monument, and cannot fairly be brought into comparison with any production of a civilized age; and as to the Æneid, if it should be thought extravagant to say that its merits are not greatly superior to those of the Henriade, it will at least be allowed that they are of the same character. The Æneid, as well as the Henriade, is defective in plan, and fails in attracting any interest to the characters. Its great merit is the charm of the language, the principal one it is true in all poetry, but which is also to be found in the work of Voltaire, though in a less degree. As a specimen of the style of this poem, we take the liberty of extracting from the vision of Henry, in the seventh book, the passages in which the poet describes the reign of Louis XIV, and the death of the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fénélon. It will be observed that the latter is imitated in part from the passage in the sixth book of the Æneid, on the death of Marcellus.

'Ciel! quel pompeux amas d'esclaves à genoux
Est aux pieds de ce roi, qui les fait trembler tous.
Quels honneurs! quels respects! jamais roi dans la France
N'accoutuma son peuple à tant d'obeissance.
Je le vois, comme vous, par la gloire animé,
Mieux obéi, plus craint, peut-être moins aimé

Je le vois éprouvant des fortunes diverses,
Trop fier dans ses succès, mais firme en ses traverses;
De vingt peuples ligués bravant seul tout l'effort,
Admirable en sa vie, et plus grand dans sa mort.
Siècle heureux de Louis, siècle que la nature
De ses plus beaux présents doit combler sans mesure,
C'est toi qui dans la France amenes les beaux arts;
Sur toi tout l'avenir va porter ses regards;
Les muses à jamais y fixent leur empire;
La toile est animée, et le marbre respire.
Quels sages, rassemblés dans ces augustes lieux,
Mesurent l'univers, et lisant dans les cieux,
Et dans la nuit obscure apportant la lumière,
Sondent les profondeurs de la nature entière?

* * * * * * * * * * *

'Quel est ce jenue prince en qui la majesté
Sur son visage aimable éclate sans fierté?
D'un oeil d'indifference il regarde le trône
Ciel! quelle nuit soudaine à mes yeux l'environne?
La mort, autour de lui vole sans s'arrêter;
Il tombe aux pieds de trône, étant près d'y monter.
O mon fils! des Français vous voyez le plus juste;
Les cieux le formeront de votre sang auguste.
Grand Dieu, ne faites vous que montrer aux humains
Cette fleur passagère ouvrage de vos mains?
Helas! que n'eût point fait cette ame vertueuse!
La France sous son regne eût été trop heureuse!
Il eût entretenu l'abondance et la paix;
Mon fils, il eût compté ses jours par ses bienfaits;
Il eût aimé son peuple. O jour rempli d'alarmes!
O combien les Français vont repandre de larmes,
Quand sous la même tombe ils verront réunis
Et l'époux et la femme, et la mère et le fils!'

But whatever may be the real merit of the Henriade, the tragedies are unquestionably the most solid foundation of the poetical fame of Voltaire in his own country. Of the fifteen or twenty poems of this class that are regarded as standard and classical productions by the French, Voltaire contributed about a third part, besides producing many others of somewhat inferior merit, that are at times represented and read with pleasure. It would be superfluous to make any particular remarks upon poems so well known to all, who have any acquaintance with French literature. It is no serious objection

to them that to us, who are accustomed to a different style of tragedy, they appear somewhat stiff and cold, like all the other plays of the French school. The taste for poetry is conventional in all countries to a degree which is not generally imagined; and when we say that the French school of tragedy does not suit our taste, or does not please us so well as that of Shakspeare and Schiller, we only say in other words that we were educated in one country and not in another, without touching in the least degree the question of their relative merits. And as to this question, which is evidently a mere question of forms, we have always thought it surprising that it should be considered so important by all the critics, French, English, and German. It will be admitted that it requires equal genius, and first rate genius to succeed in either school, the *classical* or the *romantic*, and the productions of a writer of first rate genius will always, we apprehend, be read with the highest pleasure, however their form may have been modified by his education. We should all say in every such case as Johnson does of the Paradise Lost, notwithstanding his fondness for rhyme, that he should be sorry to have it in any other form than what it is. The truth is, that genius ennobles and beautifies every form, so that the question is entirely of a secondary character, which of two given forms is abstractedly superior. And as to the question itself, such as it is, we must needs say, though educated in a romantic country, and labouring under the consequent prejudices, that we cannot shut our eyes to the plain fact that the principles of the classical school, in regard to the mere form of tragedy as a work of art, are decidedly preferable.

Voltaire adopted the form of tragedy, which had been determined in France by the success of Corneille and Racine. But in conforming to the same general principles, he avoids some of the faults in taste which are chargeable upon his predecessors. We do not see in his tragedies the illustrious heroes of former ages introduced merely to languish at the feet of a pretty woman, like the Tituses and Alexanders of Racine, or the Cids and Suetoniuses of Corneille. Cesar in Voltaire as in Shakspeare is the ambitious dictator, while in Corneille he is the knight-errant of the Queen of Egypt. We may remark *en passant* that the author of Waverly has shown a similar good judgment in the management of his characters, and has thereby been the first to rescue the historical romance

from the degradation into which it had fallen in the hands of Madame de Genlis, the Misses Porter, and others of that stamp. What a contrast between Prince Charles Edward, Claverhouse, Rob Roy, Mr. Oldbuck, and the rest, all natural business men in their way, and such worthies as Thaddeus of Warsaw and Sir William Wallace! And we have here a remarkable proof how little comparative importance belongs to forms of compositions, since we find that the historical novel, which was considered hitherto as an illegitimate one and incapable of being treated in a superior way, has turned out in the hands of a man of genius, one of the most agreeable that has ever been attempted.

To return to Voltaire:—we find in his tragedies a considerable tinge of philosophy resulting from the taste of the age and his own, and which sometimes strikes the reader as misplaced or ill timed. Thus Zaïre, a young girl in her teens, brought up from her infancy in the seraglio of the sultan of Jerusalem, and desperately in love with him, can hardly be supposed to think or know much about general principles of any kind, and least of all on religious matters: yet she states the grounds of religious toleration with a clearness and precision that might put to shame our gravest doctors of divinity. Opinions according to this blooming philosopher are the offspring of climate. Give me the latitude and longitude where a man was born and educated, and I will tell you his opinions and habits, with the same certainty as the colour of his skin. To persecute or hate a man for his opinions is therefore to persecute him for being born and bred at a certain time and place rather than another, as if this were a thing at his option.

> 'J'eusse été près du Gange esclave des faux dieux,
> Chrètienne à Paris, Musulmane en ces lieux.'

Now, though all this is very true, we apprehend that it bears with it internal evidence of being out of place, for the climate of the seraglio of Jerusalem is certainly not the climate of philosophy, and if any such exotic product were forced in it, it would be more likely to be found among the guardians of that Earthly Paradise than its tenants. Detached verses may be quoted from the tragedies in which philosophical thoughts are expressed with great force and beauty: as the following,

'Le premier qui fût roi fut un soldat heureux,
Qui sert bien son pays, n'a pas besoin d'ayeux.'

an allusion to the noble sentiment of Hector in the Iliad,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

The most remarkable however of the philosophical passages in the tragedies is the scene in Mahomet, in which the prophet explains to the chief magistrate of Mecca the principles which regulate his conduct. It is neither more nor less than a discussion between these two personages of the important philosophical question, how far an individual has a right to undertake a reform of the religion of his country and age, and on what principles he ought to proceed. Mahomet is the reformer and Zopyrus the supporter of established systems. The arguments on both sides of this question are too familiar to our readers to require any notice of them. Jean Jacques Rousseau pronounces this scene to be the best in the whole compass of French tragedy. But although it is written with force and eloquence, it may be doubted whether this judgment of the citizen of Geneva was not dictated in part by personal prejudices. It was natural enough for one who had often meditated upon this great point of casuistry, to take pleasure in seeing the argument powerfully stated in the finest poetry. But the greater part of the audience would hardly perceive the drift of the controversy, and of course would take very little interest in it: and the best scene in a tragedy is the one that produces the greatest effect. The passions on the contrary being common to all classes, the lowest of the spectators may be nearly as much affected by a striking exhibition of their movements as the highest, although they may not be able to judge quite so nicely on the merits of the performance as a work of art.

If the tragedies of Voltaire are the most solid foundations of his fame in France, his historical works probably contributed more than any of the rest to make him known in foreign countries, and stand as fair a chance of being generally read hereafter. The *Essay on the Manners of different Nations* with the *Ages of Louis XIV and XV*, form a complete universal history from the time of Charlemagne to the middle of the last century. Besides these he has given in separate works the history of Peter the Great, of Charles XII of Sweden,

and of the French Parliament. The essay on the manners is the most considerable of these productions, and will bear a comparison both in respect to style and substance with any historical work of ancient or modern times; and of all histories it is certainly by far the most amusing. No body had previously thought it consistent with the dignity of this kind of writing to relax from a steady and sustained gravity, and it was usual to observe almost as much form and ceremony in describing the actions of kings and princes, as in approaching their persons. Voltaire being no respecter of authority, dead or living, enlivens his narrative with satirical sallies against the follies of these personages, often not less prominent than their crimes; and this, it may be safely said, was the only way of treating with success the barbarous and bloody period which he had chosen for his subject. The work loses something of its interest by the extreme rapidity with which the reader is carried from one event to another. The introductory volume was written at a later period of life when the author's abhorrence of fanaticism had degenerated into fanaticism itself, and has but little value. The Age of Louis XIV is even more finished and agreeable, as a piece of composition than the Essay, but the writer with all his philosophy appears to have been dazzled by the military glory of the early part of this reign, or else was making court to his hero's successor. The picture of Louis is too much flattered, and the historian dwells with a foolish complacency upon the showy pageants which were exhibited at court, and which, as every one knows, are not only too frivolous to be worth the public attention, but are mortally tiresome to every body engaged in them, even while they are going on. The Age of Louis XV is an unfinished sketch, but contains some fine passages, as the description of the battle of Fontenoy. The History of Charles XII is a charming little work, with all the interest of a novel, and is probably more read than any other historical production. The other two are of inferior merit.

Besides the works now mentioned, which compose the solid materials of the reputation of this great genius, there is a crowd of lighter and smaller productions in prose and verse, that are almost eclipsed under the superior splendor of the larger works, but which, had he never written any thing else, would have conferred upon their author the most brilliant reputation. Some of them are tainted in a greater or less de-

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gree with a vice which luckily for his reputation, is not to be found in his more important works. *Candide* is of this class, the sharpest satire that ever was composed, and one which has gaiety enough, if such a thing were possible, to redeem its grossness. The fine little story of *Zadig* is free from this exception. It was written expressly for a princess of the royal family of France, and in her house. In addition to this mass of publications in almost every walk of literature, Voltaire found time for an extensive correspondence with most of the distinguished literary characters, and many of the first political ones in Europe, as Frederic the Great, Catherine II of Russia, the maréchal de Richelieu, president Henault, D'Alembert, and others. The greater part of this correspondence has found its way into the collection of his works, and will probably, as we have hinted before, form not the least interesting portion of it, in the opinion of posterity. As one of the multitude of proofs with what a reverence approaching to idolatry, this celebrated person was regarded, it may be remarked that it was debated in the French Academy after his death, whether the chair which he had occupied in that body should not be left forever vacant. The proposition passed in the negative, but as far at least as regarded his immediate successor, it seems to have been acted upon in substance. Ducis, a small poet of the day, took his place and found himself as much at ease as the snail in La Fontaine's fable that froze to death in a lobster shell.

We shall draw these remarks to a close with a trifling anecdote, which perhaps may be new to our readers, and which we lately met with in a French newspaper. We think it carries internal proof of authenticity. It relates to the etymology of the name *Voltaire*, which this writer has rendered so illustrious, and which we believe is commonly thought to have been either entirely arbitrary or taken from some little estate, according to the custom with French gentlemen of that day. It is now said however to be merely a transposition of the letters composing the original signature which he employed in early life. His family name, it is well known, was *Arouet*, and having an elder brother he used to sign his name when young *Arouet l. l.;—le Jeune.* The word *Voltaire* is an anagram or transposi- of the letters in this signature.

In conclusion we have to observe, that we have not so far distrusted the moral sentiment of our readers, as to imitate

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the example of some of the most distinguished of our brethren abroad, and fall into passionate exclamations upon the immorality disclosed by this work, as well in the state of society as in the individulals, whose names occur in our article. No person needs be told that many in the higher classes abroad—we are not aware that any considerable exception is to be made of one country over others—are scandalously corrupt, in the article of private morals. We read their works, recognize their talents, do justice to their accomplishments, mingle as one may say in their company, with this exception, and are on our guard in this point. We indeed, in this country, where the suspicion of laxity in the sacred relations of domestic life fixes a stigma on its subjects, might claim a right to bear loud testimony, did it serve any good purpose, against European corruption. But we would gently hint to our English brethren to abstain from any similar denunciations of French society, till that great scandal of the civilized world now under the consideration of the peers of the British realm, shall have been disposed of.

ART. IV.—*Report of the Committee of Merchants and others of Boston, on the Tariff.* Wells & Lilly, 1820, 8vo. pp. 20.

THE commerce and navigation of the United States have been subjected to a variety of experiments, that were not so much designed directly to advance their prosperity, as to serve other temporary and particular ends. Under the administration of Mr. Jefferson, the commerce of the country was wielded as a powerful instrument of war; and the restriction of it intended to produce the effects, which are generally brought about by armies and navies. But those were days of party feud and violence. The non-intercourse and embargo systems were more generally censured or approved, than examined or understood. Men took sides for or against them, not merely from motives of private interest or views of public policy, but from political feeling, according to the party to which they happened to belong.

A new system of measures powerfully affecting our commercial interests, has recently been projected; and it is fortunate, we think, that it comes forth under the protection of no political banner. No administration is now to be support-

ed or opposed; and no party dethroned or defended, by the sacrifice of national interest or public industry. The field is open to a fair controversy, and the intelligence of the nation sits as a judge over the skill and adroitness of the combatants.

But notwithstanding the experiments to which it has been subjected, the commerce of the United States has, upon the whole, enjoyed the favour of the national government, and has been protected with care, kindness, and success. The ablest of our statesmen have devoted their talents to its service; the investigations of our acutest political œconomists have explained the theory of its prosperity; the experience of the most eminent merchants has contributed to the practical utility of the laws by which it has been regulated; and the community and the government have thus conspired to secure its regular growth and permanent duration. This protection has not been extended to commerce from blind prepossession, or any theory of party politics, but because at every period of our national existence it has been manifest, that the commerce of the country has more than rewarded all the pains which have been taken to promote it; that if it be the child of the nation, it is not as it has been ungently called, the 'spoiled child,' enfeebled by misplaced kindness, but the healthy offspring of which we have as much reason to be proud, as of the financial credit and the naval power, of which our commerce has been not so much the friend and patron, as the creator. In a country so large and a community so extensive as ours, it is unavoidable that commerce should have its enemies, who are jealous of its importance, and would willingly subject it to restraints and checks. But it is not without its friends, able to prove its claims to protection, and to demonstrate its ability to return the favors it receives. To this latter class we are indebted for the powerful and well written defence of its rights, contained in the paper before us.

The danger which now threatens the commerce of the United States, and has recently attracted the particular attention as well of its advocates as its opponents, arises from the propositions reported at the last session of congress, by the committee on manufactures. These propositions are known in familiar terms as the 'new tariff,' but have for their object not only a projected change in the laws of imposts and tonnage, but essential alterations in the whole commercial system, particularly as to drawback, credit on duties, and sales by auction. The

report before us is confined to the tariff regulating the amount of duties; that being the subject referred to the committee, by which it is reported. The design, however, of the remainder of the propositions alluded to is, equally with the tariff, to direct and control the occupations of one class of men, viz. of commercial men, by granting special privileges to those engaged in other pursuits, viz. in domestic or internal manufactures.

Perhaps this mode of expression may not be approved by the advocates of the new system. But we suppose they would readily admit and even defend the design of building up, by the aid of legislation, the manufacturing classes of the community, of enabling the people of the United States to make all they wish to consume, and to render the use of the productions of any foreign country unnecessary and impracticable, if the same articles, or those which will supply their place, can be produced at home; and that should the consequence of these plans be the serious reduction of the foreign commerce of the United States, it would not, in their view, be a fatal objection to their design. Looking then upon this as the acknowledged object of the measures in question, we cannot but express our surprise that a plan, forcibly to change the employment of that immense population, who live directly or indirectly on the commerce of this nation with other nations of the globe, could ever have been seriously contemplated; or in this age of intelligence and reason perseveringly pursued.

In the year 1816, the population of the United States amounted to 7,239,903. At the same time there were employed in the merchant service, 71,000 seamen. Adding to this number of male adults, as most of them are, the average number for the women and children corresponding to this number of men in the *census*, and the result will give one twentieth of the whole population directly concerned in the commerce and navigation of the country. In the four atlantic New England States, the proportion is much greater. With a population of 1,254,078 souls, they had 596,819 tons of shipping. Calculating the employment of six men for every hundred tons, and adding the proportion of females and children as before, it will be found that nearly one seventh of all the people of New England have a direct employment in navigation. This calculation moreover is upon a fair average; because though less than six men to one hundred tons

are employed in some large ships, on long voyages, yet that is the average number on coasting voyages, and it is increased to eight in the fisheries.

At the period mentioned, which is the last of which we have any general and official information, viz. 1816, the tonnage of the United States was estimated at 1,424,783 tons, and its value at $71,239,150. If we take into consideration the number of men who are employed in constructing, repairing, and equipping this amount of shipping, and who of course, with their families are supported by it; the numbers employed in vending the commodities consumed, and in distributing them through the country, and the costs of the wharfs, warehouses, and other accommodations for commerce, which would be in a great degree useless for other purposes, and also that in one year (1816) the customs supplied $28,586,330 to the treasury, and have yielded to the government, since the establishment of the present constitution, more than three hundred and fifty one millions of dollars besides the expenses of collection, we shall be able to form some conception of the immense interests involved in this greatest of all public or private employments; and shall surely hesitate to shake the pillars of that stupendous fabric, which would bring such terrible ruin in its fall.

But we are ready to go farther and say, that many districts of the United States are essentially commercial in their habits, occupation, and character; and that, in such places, *all* the inhabitants are vitally interested in the success of commercial enterprise, and would feel acutely every interruption of its course. Where the predominating spirit of a country is commercial, every citizen, whatever be his trade or profession, or however independent it may seem to be of the active pursuits of commerce, is vitally interested in its success; and the hundred ships of the merchant, whatever may be to him the result of a voyage, neither go nor return without diffusing prosperity far and wide, and moving the busy circles of population round us, as wave is moved by wave on the ocean through which they are borne. The same of course may be said of any other occupation which forms the great staple of the community. The habits are fixed, ability is doubled by use, practice has given facility; the channel is worn smooth by time, and the stream of labor flows easily and regularly along. A shipwright might originally have made a skilful

husbandman, an adventurous sailor might have subdued his enterprising spirit to the task of watching with patience the spindles of a cotton machine; but change from one to the other is ruinous to both.

Now it is not to be supposed that this predominant spirit of the community was at first a thing of arbitrary existence. It must in all cases grow out of deep seated national and political causes. Nor is it wise to project a serious alteration in the habits or occupations of a community, which are the consequences of a situation in which Providence has cast its members. A people naturally fearless and enterprising, living on a rocky shore, with the ocean breaking at their feet, invited by the facility of building ships and the safety which an indentation of bays and harbors offers them, is destined to march upon the wave; navigation must necessarily be their chief employment. Nature, that never does any thing in vain, demonstrates her intentions. The art or the laws of man can make only a partial diversion of its power, as the lightning rod takes now and then a little stream from the clouds, while the lightnings blaze and the thunders roll throughout the expanse of the atmosphere.

But is such a design contemplated, or will it result from the system which has been proposed? The measures projected must be the answer to this question, and not the accusations of one party, or the professions of another.

The repeal of drawbacks, the limitation of credit, the auction tax, and the act to regulate the duties on imports and for other purposes, are all parts of a system contrived for the avowed purpose of enabling the nation to supply its own resources—its food, clothing, and means of defence. It is declared that to be dependent on foreign nations for the articles essential for these purposes is inconsistent with true policy, and that the system, which has entailed this dependence, must be radically changed. This radical change is to be effected by excluding whatever can be made at home, as far as the home manufacture can supply the market, and by raising the impost upon nearly all the articles, which we shall continue from necessity to import.

This is the main principle, the great and commanding feature of the projected scheme, and when its consequences are developed, it will be seen whether they have been too strongly and extravagantly stated.

Look first to the repeal of the provision for drawback. All that great branch of business which consists in the re-exportation of articles of foreign growth, produce, or manufacture is at once destroyed; because after being subject to the payment of high duties here, they could not be sold in a foreign market with advantage. The extent of this trade, thus annihilated, may be seen from official reports. Excluding fractions, the total value of goods imported in four years ending 10th October 1818, was four hundred and thirteen millions and a half of dollars, of which sixty two and a half millions were re-exported, with drawback. In seventeen years ending in 1818, including the period of the embargo and war, the three and a half per cent. which was retained on drawback, and which was reduced in 1816 to two and a half per cent. amounted to $2.314,877.

But the value in money is only a partial item in the estimate of this trade. It is carried on for the most part in long voyages, by a circuitous channel; and employs at profit the capital and labour of the American merchant. When the British government in 1805 and 1806, in a paroxysm of capricious aggression on our rights, undertook to denounce a part of this trade and sweep it from the ocean, the alarm that spread through the country was excited, not more by the immense amount that became the spoil of the illegal plunderer, than by anxiety for the channels of trade, by which the excess of our imports was in future to find its way to foreign markets. But the entire trade is now in jeopardy. It is no longer a question about importations from a belligerent's colony, but whether any foreign goods shall be imported, beyond the necessary consumption of the country; and whether we shall retain the profit to be derived from their re-exportation, as well as the advantages of assorted cargoes, which have been found so profitable in a direct trade, and can only be enjoyed so long as the country remains an entrepôt. That this trade is now much smaller than it was at the time to which the calculations abovementioned were made, can be readily admitted without affecting the results; for who will deny the possibility of its again increasing to its former magnitude? The European world will not always be at peace. The causes of war are not destroyed; and a breathing time of peace will but revive the spirits of the combatants.

Moreover though this branch of trade be diminished, why go on to destroy, by our own act, what circumstances have already diminished? There is yet no small quantity remaining. American ships begin to sail on terms of equality with those of other nations. We can already, on fair principles, maintain a successful competition with the mercantile marine of the world. If labour is dearer and capital not so abundant, materials are more plenty, and more is required to be done by the same number of hands. To burthen this trade with the same charges, that fall on merchandise consumed in the country is to crush what remains of it; and to retire from competition when a concurrence of circumstances shall increase it. A wiser policy would perhaps be to liberate it from the 2½ per cent. which is now retained by the custom-house.

The proposal for reducing the term of credit on duties payable on the importation of foreign goods, separated from the others of which it forms an essential part, may have been considered at least of doubtful utility; but in this connexion is entitled to a different consideration. It makes an essential alteration in existing laws; and in our opinion is decidedly hostile to the general interests of the commercial community; and especially of those young merchants who are beginning their career with more enterprize than capital.

The credits as they now stand are as follows, viz:

Duties on importations from the West Indies and north of the equator, except Europe, half in six months, and half in nine months.

From Europe, one third in eight months, one third in ten months, and one third in twelve months.

From the East Indies, one third in eight months, one third in ten months, and one third in eighteen months.

On wines, one year.

On salt, nine months.

Teas, one third in eight, ten, and twelve months, or if entered for exportation and deposited as collateral security to the importer's bond, two years' credit is given.

The projected act, which may yet become a law, enacted, that the duties on all goods and merchandise imported into the United States, shall be paid in cash before a permit shall be granted for landing the same, with the exception of gums and medicinal drugs, spices, coffee, indigo, pepper, salt, ochre, sugar, on which a credit of three and six months is to

be given; and of teas, on which the duties are to be paid in three, six, and nine months. In this bill, however, provision was made to prevent actual payment, if goods are entered for exportation and deposited in the public stores; a provision which would have been wholly nugatory, if the principle of drawback was abolished.

Now this is an important, for it is a radical change. It is not justifiable nor pretended to be justified as a measure of revenue, inasmuch as the secretary of the treasury reported to Congress, that since the establishment of the government less than one half of one per cent. on the whole amount of imposts, had been lost by a failure of payment. That it grants equal facilities to foreigners and American merchants, can be no good reason in favour of this portion of the bill, for the China and East India trade, on which it bears with peculiar severity, is wholly in the hands of our own citizens, and the details of the bill, which might easily have been adjusted to such an object, still leave the importation, as it would thereafter exist, on similar terms of equality. Its effect, if not its object, is to curtail the importation of foreign manufactures by diminishing the facility of importing them.

The original object of this credit was to supply a deficiency of capital. In the first place, because the tax on consumption, if paid before consumption, must be advanced by the importer, and require an addition to his capital of that whole amount. The average of all duties is a quarter part of the value of the article imported, and on teas about one hundred per cent. on their cost in Canton. To purchase the article would require one capital abroad, while to pay the claim of the government would require another capital at home. The higher the duties, the greater is the want of this credit; and that necessity is increased by a deficiency of capital. The proposed tariff therefore has the double hardship of increasing the want and refusing the supply. Nor can it be pretended that there is a superabundance of capital in the country. That it has increased, surprisingly increased within the last twenty years, is certainly true. But enterprize, or speculation, if you so please to call it, has increased still more rapidly, and absorbed the capital, as fast as it has been supplied. It has spread in every direction, but it is fixed and not floating. It has enriched the country with solid wealth. New states have been explored and settled; and villages and

cities built, where but a short time since was the home, or the chase ground of the Indian; but the scarcity of a monied capital has been every where the subject of complaint and alarm, because so many more objects claimed its aid, than there were means of satisfying. Hence the multiplication of banks, and the pernicious extent to which it has been attempted to make a fictitious capital perform the services of a real one. If at the present moment there is any redundancy of capital, it is because, by the stagnation of commerce, some part has been liberated from the usual employment and has not taken as yet any permanent direction.

The capital supplied by this credit on duties has been called a loan to the merchants. But this is a name, which should have been abandoned at the time it was discovered that the consumer and not the importer pays the tax on importation. By means of this facility the merchant, at a cheaper rate, brings foreign goods to the American market, and at the same profit affords them at a less price. The consumer enjoys the advantage of this reduction, for it is the joint elements of labour and capital that regulate the price in a steady and permanent market; and as these are increased or diminished, so will the price be at which the article is obtained.

That the injunction of prompt payment would take the business from the hands of those who had only moderate capitals, that it would lessen the ability of all, and materially diminish the amount of the foreign trade, are facts, which we think cannot bear discussion. The advantage or disadvantage of this curtailment of commerce is not the point of the inquiry. The *fact* of the tendency of this measure to lessen foreign importations, and with the other measures proposed, very nearly extinguish them, is the subject we are considering. Nor can it well be denied that such consequences would follow, for we learn from high authority that the object is to effect such a limitation as 'that a new voyage should not be completed on the capital furnished, by the duties on a former one.'

That it would deprive foreigners of the trade, if true, would only prove that it would diminish the amount of importation; and the supply diminishing, the price must advance. But the trade by which foreigners throw into the market a great amount of property for immediate sale, could not be affected by this measure alone, because any commission merchant, to

whom the cargo was consigned, would as readily pay the cash duty on an endorsement of the bill of lading, as he would receive the goods on deposit and give bond for the cargo, if the money was to be refunded immediately by a forced sale at auction. It became necessary therefore, to make the barriers complete, to stop this facility ; and an auction bill, that should enforce a prohibitory duty of ten per cent. was reported, as a part of this anti-commercial system. That the 'auction bill' is so to be considered, is plain from the fact, that the moment it became a mere measure for revenue, it was thrown out by the House of Representatives. So long as it was part of a system, that depressed foreign importations and facilitated domestic manufactures, it was urged on by a triumphant majority ; but its operation, as a financial arrangement, was disclaimed by the chairman of the committee of manufactures ; and when it would answer no other purpose, it was decisively rejected.

The operation of such a bill is of doubtful character. That it would restrain the importation of foreign goods beyond the demands of the market is probably true; and thereby prevent the depression of price which an over-trade occasions. This would assist the regular importer as well as the domestic manufacturer, who, in this particular, have a common interest, at variance with the consumer, who is always desirous to buy as cheap as he can.

But these measures, the withholding of credit, the drawback, and the auction bills, are only auxiliary to the main design. The great and controlling character of the system, by which the American people are to command their own resources, become independent of foreign assistance ; maintain a real character of freedom ; and increase their wealth, happiness and renown, is displayed in the projected tariff.

It is necessary to consider this measure in its two fold character of a revenue bill, and a measure of political economy. So far as it directs its operations to mere arrangements of finance, and proposes to supply the means of administering the government, it is one thing, and to be examined by one set of principles and mode of calculation. So far as it assumes the character of a sumptuary law ; as an instrument to compel or even induce men to abandon one mode of business and seek employment in another ; so far as it is a measure, which interferes with great private interests, for the accom-

modation or increase of other private interests, alleged to be more conducive to the public good, it is to be tested by other principles and modes of reasoning, It then leaves the mere compting room of the merchant, and demands an elucidation from the enlarged calculations of the statesman, and the abstrusest principles of political economy. It is obvious that the system in question has both these objects. As a new system for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, it necessarily dries up many streams by which the treasury was supplied; and it assumes the character of a revenue bill, by proposing partial substitutes for the loss. Its advocates leave us in no doubt what course is to be taken to supply the deficiency. It cannot be objected to it as a system, that it is unfinished or incomplete. It marches to its objects with open front, and whichever of them can be accomplished by the means which it contemplates, this system is calculated to effect. We object to the design of it in both senses, as a revenue bill, and as a system of political economy; and it is proper to consider it in this light, because the system in itself is indefensible. No skill in the arrangement of details, no nice and artificial adjustment of smaller parts can compensate for the radical error of attempting to change the habits of a great people, or turn the current of labor, by force of legislative acts, from the natural channel in which it flows, through the locks and canals that may be constructed by its side. The design is to encourage the industry employed in domestic manufactures, to encourage it at the expense of mercantile or agricultural industry. The amount of that expense is not ascertained. Whether it shall in some cases amount to absolute ruin, and in others produce considerable or trifling loss, are questions, for the certain answers of which no sufficient data are provided. But one thing is certain. All that the manufacturers gain by means of legislation is taken from their fellow-citizens in other pursuits; for legislation cannot originate either labour or capital, though it can effectually turn the current of both. It may, to be sure, compel an idle man to work, but its great object in this instance is rather to change than enforce exertion, and this latter circumstance is hardly of importance enough to be called an exception to the general remark.

By the provisions of this bill, the merchant is not to be left in the enjoyment of his present facilities. These interfere

with domestic industry, and must be removed. The question should be understood in this light; and it is erroneous and dangerous to encourage other opinions. I am willing, it is often said, to encourage manufactures, but not at the expense of commerce. I will aid them, says another, but not by jeopardizing the agricultural interests. This is fallacious. What is done by regulation and laws is only to produce a change in the direction of capital and labour; it is to close one gate that the stream may flow more certainly through another. This is well understood by the intelligent advocates of the system, though an illusion is kept up for those, who think that acts of Congress can create wealth as readily as bank charters were once supposed to produce capital. And the question should be met in this way; is the advantage that will accrue to the nation by the increased efforts to encourage and protect domestic manufactures, equal to the injury that will result to the nation from the damage done to other classes of the community, by this protection and encouragement? Is it more than equal, and how much more? For slight convenience and small gains to the public will not justify the infliction of great evil, even on one individual.

As a measure of political economy then, this system proposes that every thing which can be made within the country should be made within the country; and that the domestic manufacturer should have such decided advantages in the home market, as to beat down foreign competition. To effect this, articles made of cotton, woollen, or linen, are to be excluded, or greatly diminished by duties nearly prohibitory; and the impost on hemp, iron, paper, glass, glue, gunpowder, and various smaller articles, are to be increased from $33\frac{1}{3}$ to 100 per cent. The China and East India trade is attacked with a severe, and, as we think, very senseless hostility; and is unreasonably accused, among its other evils, of draining the country of specie.

The suggestion is wholly erroneous. A people who have no mines, cannot export more specie than they import; and the demand for specie which is made by this trade, produces the supply which it consumes.

Besides, this trade furnishes great materials for the carrying trade, the importance of which we have already considered. There is another branch of it however, to which we advert with peculiar satisfaction. It is the entire result of

American enterprise, perseverance, and labour. It takes nothing from the country, but returns after a proper period, laden with the rich earnings of its skill. We allude to the whole commerce of the country on the northwest coast of America, the islands of the Pacific ocean, and the China seas; a commerce which has astonished Europe, by the fearlessness with which it is undertaken, and the patience and perseverance with which it has been conducted; and whatever may be thought by missionary societies, of the propriety of supplying the Chinese altars with sandal wood from the Fejee islands, the statesman has seen in it a rapid transmutation of American enterprise and labour into property, by which the nation has flourished and individuals have grown rich.

An attack on the India trade was not however for the first time made by the proposed tariff. The revenue bill at present in operation, by its prohibitory duty on India low priced cottons, has destroyed the trade in that article for domestic consumption. In 1817 fifteen ships were employed from the port of Salem alone, in that trade, and in 1819 two only were engaged in it, nor could these continue after the repeal of the drawback. The tax on the consumers for the benefit of the manufacturers of these fabrics is worthy of notice. This article is estimated in India at six cents per yard, and may be imported and sold at the short price, that is without any impost, at seven cents per yard with a profit. All that it costs the consumer above that price is its tax for the revenue. About one million of dollars per annum were paid into the treasury, as the proceeds of the impost on this article alone, and with this impost the cost to the consumer was only the present price of a similar article in the market. This million of dollars is therefore as directly a bounty to the manufactures, as if paid out of the treasury and divided among them; and the treasury deficit is supplied by a new tax on some other article of consumption. So that the prohibitory duty has driven the foreign coarse cottons from the market; the amount of tax on them is lost to the government, the consumer gets the like article no cheaper than he did before, and has to pay his of the million that was received by the tax on importation.

As a measure of revenue, to supply in part the loss occasioned to the treasury by diminished importation, the bill provided that the impost on most articles of necessary consump-

tion, not made or grown here at all, or not produced in sufficient quantity to supply the demand, should be increased from 30 to 50 per cent. Brown sugar is raised from three to four cents per pound; other sugars 25 per cent. The impost on bohea tea and molasses is doubled, and on salt increased 25 per cent. Wine and spirits remain as before. These are the prominent features of the bill, which we have not room to set out in more detail.

Suppose now the object accomplished, which is designed by this system. Suppose the chrysalis state in which we should be passing from a people essentially commercial, to a people essentially manufacturing, were over, and all the evils of diminished supply, extravagant prices, and vexatious impositions, which attend a new state of affairs, were gone by, and the irritations which they caused forgotten, a time indeed that is not very suddenly to arrive, and a resting place not found in the early stages of the new turnpike road on which we are to travel. Yet what will be the effect on the community when matters are arranged as the advocates of this system propose? This surely is the most advantageous period that can be taken for the friends of the measures, for it passes without notice over an interval, however short, of general discontent, when the benefits of ancient pursuits have ceased to operate, and those of the new system have scarcely begun to be felt. In our view of such a period, we must separate what is merely patriotic from what is altogether pecuniary; and must not expect that to flatter our vanity is certainly to add to our wealth. It is one thing to be independent, and another to be affluent. If it be wise to adopt the policy of Lycurgus, let it so be understood, and we may prepare before hand to be proud, republican, and poor. We cannot engraft on it the opposite system of Pericles, and be at the same time refined, luxurious, and rich. The effect of this policy on the wealth of the nation is a subject of anxious consideration; its influence on character is a different and no less important inquiry. Let us attend a moment to each.

Labour is the great and only source of national wealth. That labour which is employed in drawing from the earth or the sea new articles of property, in refining or elaborating what is coarse into that which is fine, or in exchanging the products of one soil, or the fabrics of one set of artizans, for the products or fabrics of another, is in each case a different

mode respectively of increasing the wealth of a country. If one man raise sheep that produce a quantity of wool, if another convert it into coarse cloth, if a third carry it to a distant country and exchange it for furs, and take the furs elsewhere, and barter them for the same quantity of fine cloth, it is easy to see that the labour of each has been usefully employed, and the national wealth increased by each of them. Nor is it of any consequence in which step of the proceeding the most value is added. The agriculturist in the supposed case has originated property, worth, for example, one hundred dollars; the manufacturer has doubled its value, the merchant has exchanged it for an article which on his return is worth but five dollars more. The result of their joint effort has been, that the country has $205 worth of property, to which each person concerned has in some degree contributed, and it is American labour, whether engaged at home or abroad, that has produced it.

Again, if the farmer raise two parcels of wool, which are worth $10 each, and deliver one to the manufacturer, who converts it into cloth that is worth $15, and the other to the merchant, who, by transporting it to a better market, exchanges it for an article worth $20, it is not easy to perceive why his labour thus employed has not enriched the country to double the amount of the other, and why the increase of value is not as much native American labour, as that which is performed by the manufacturer at home. American industry and capital have been employed on a similar object by different means, and the result is apparent. While there are these two methods of procuring the same thing, a competition is excited, and the consumers, who are the true public, the great body, whose interest is the real interest of the nation, and which embraces all the other classes, will be served on the most favourable terms.

But it is discovered by the friends of the new system, that no competition can be sustained by the manufacturers within the United States, with regard to certain useful articles, against the manufacturers from abroad. In other words, that the same article can be obtained by the merchant and sold to the consumer, cheaper than it can be obtained and sold by the manufacturer in the country. That the present imposts, with which the article in the hand of the merchant is burthened, and from which the same article in the hand of the home

manufacturer is exempted, do not sufficiently embarrass the traffic to give the latter a monopoly of the market; so that measures must be devised to support him.

Now it is very clear that all those classes of manufacturers who can sustain themselves by the present imposts, and who find their trade flourishing under present regulations, are not interested to effect a change; and it is exceedingly manifest that the public would derive no benefit by granting to them facilities, which would only enable them to increase their profit by raising their price. It is accordingly an error to use the terms of this controversy, with that generality in which they have but too often been applied. It is not to encourage manufactures; but some kinds of manufactures. It is to give artificial aid to some branches at the expense of the rest; and in fact to protect the interests of cotton and woollen manufactures, at the cost not only of the agricultural and commercial classes of the community, but of all those who are engaged in other manufacturing concerns. Moreover, when this contemplated protection is obtained, one of two cases must occur. Either foreign importation of these articles will cease, or the goods will come so high charged that the American manufacturer will secure a preference in the market. In such event the capital and enterprise engaged in importation will be thrown out of employment, and the consumer be taxed for the encouragement of manufactures, in a sum equal to the whole amount of the difference of price caused by a free or a restricted trade; by which difference the manufacturer thrives.

But a partial market will not suit the friends of the system. 'We must command our consumption;' that is, our whole consumption. Foreign goods must be excluded from the market, and the trade monopolized by the home manufacturer. Capital must be driven into a new channel, and the labour, which is open to our enterprising citizens, directed to different pursuits. But, when all this is accomplished, the revenue is curtailed and three millions are lost to the public chest. The same money will then buy no more cloth than it does now, because you have excluded what is cheap, that what is dear may find a sale. Hitherto, of every four dollars that the consumer paid for his cloth, one dollar went to the treasury. He now gets the article at a higher price, and yet the call of the government remains to be satisfied. Will those who cause the deficiency create the supply? No. The tax is on

consumption, and he who wears the cloth, not he who makes it, must pay the excise. Besides, the burthen is not exclusive, although the advantage is. It is laid on the consumption of other articles, which will still be imported. Sugar, salt, tea, and coffee, advance in price by the revenue provision of the bill, and the three millions, which are lost in a zeal to ripen by forced heat the yet green manufactures of the country, are to be replaced, by an increase of price on every article of consumption. You have consented to pay a new tax on whatever you wear; you are rewarded by an additional price on whatever you eat. You have 'commanded your consumption,' but it is the consumption of the purse. The tea, coffee, pepper, sugar, salt, spices, &c. before enumerated, are by an increased impost, causing of course an increased price in the market, required to refund some part of the treasury loss; and this amount is an additional tax, because it is not relieved by a diminution on any other article. Nor is it the only one which is brought on the consumer. He has to bear the increased price which is thereby artificially created, for so much of the same article as is made within the country, and pays two or three dollars for every one which the treasury receives. This is best proved by example.

Suppose a defect of three millions is to be supplied in part by an additional duty on pepper. The merchant pays it at the custom house and is refunded by the additional price of the article in the market. As we raise no pepper, the additional price is the additional tax; because all that is consumed has been subject to the duty. But suppose it is in part also to be supplied by additional duties on salt and brown sugar, of which articles we make large quantities, but not enough for consumption. The price of all salt and sugar is raised in the market, and if the consumption be supplied equally by the importer and the manufacturer, each is interested equally in the market price; the former however receives the additional price on the amount he sells, and pays it over to the government; the latter retains it for his own benefit. But the consumer, whether he purchases of the one or the other, pays the price to which the new impost has raised it. Thus to provide one dollar for the treasury, two dollars are taken from the people. And as is the proportion which the home manufacture bears to the quantity imported, will be the loss to the people on the amount paid to the treasury.

The projected measures were so contrived as, on the same importations as in 1818, to supply $5,800,000 of the amount which, by its prohibitory and protecting duties, the government would lose. But that was a year of extraordinary importation, much above the average of common years, and the imposts produced $22,000,000. There would not remain the common average of importations, because increase of price lessens consumption. But the greater the importation, the greater is the evil we are considering. The treasury is supplied by an exorbitant tax on the sorts of articles, which are both manufactured in the country and imported from abroad, and the consumers would pay ten millions, before the treasury would realize five. Thus one false step renders another unavoidable, alike in politics and morals.

The hypothesis, that should the new tariff be established, the same amount of importation would continue as before, is wholly fallacious. As the price increases, purchasers diminish; and as purchasers diminish, importation grows less. The proportion of difference cannot be ascertained with certainty. But as a great portion of the inhabitants on the seaboard would be essentially injured in their ability to purchase, a more than usual diminution would be experienced. Already a great decrease in the quantity of imported goods is found to exist. The demand ceases as the ability to pay ceases; and when the importer ascertains that his goods will not sell, he has generally good sense enough to lessen his orders. There is no need of interference on the part of government to regulate this. It will as assuredly regulate itself, as water will find its own level. The laws of nature are not more uniform and irresistible, than those which self-interest imposes upon commerce; and the knowledge which sharp-sighted calculations of profit or loss give to the importer is the best, and in fact the only security against an inadequate supply on the one hand, or an injurious redundancy on the other.

Already it is ascertained that the imposts, which were estimated for this year at 18,000,000, will be less than 15,000,000. What would they have been on the system of the proposed tariff? The deficiency could not have been less than six millions and probably eight millions of dollars. How is this to be raised? The advocates of the new system are not backward in declaring it. They admit the necessity of an excise, though they differ as to the manner, in which this great sum

is to be drawn from the people. Articles of luxury must take the foreground of the list, and an excise be laid on furniture, plate, loaf sugar, carriages, watches, jewelry, &c. But the fabricators of these articles are domestic manufacturers, and have acquired and maintained almost the possession of the home market. They give employment to domestic industry. They enable us 'to command our own consumption' of the various articles, which a life in any degree above the savage state requires. The consumers are to pay, it is said; but the consumption stops. The price increases and the demand grows less. The interest then of these classes of manufacturers is precisely opposite. If the present duties have given them a monopoly, or even preference of the home market, the excise, or the tariff which makes an excise necessary, is in direct hostility to their interests. And the policy of encouraging, not manufactures at the expense of commerce, but some branches of domestic industry at the expense of others, may well be doubted. Again, the excise, it would seem, should also be laid on distillers of spirit from grain or other articles of domestic produce; for as the duty of ten cents a gallon on molasses would give them a chance for the possession of the home market, and some share of exportation, this tax would not fall unreasonably. But no. On this jealous interest no tax must be laid; and a proposition for this purpose at the last session of Congress was refused even the compliment of a consideration! The little revenue however that would be derived from these sources, could not supply the requisitions of the treasury, and the cotton and woollen manufactories themselves must pay their part of the contribution. Not the whole, as might be equitable, of a deficiency created for their benefit, but a proportion in the ratio of this capital. This they would cheerfully do, if the home market is secured to them; but see the effect on the public. The consumer at present abstains from buying domestic goods, because foreign goods are cheaper; and yet, when he pays this inferior price, one fourth of the amount is received into the national treasury. But foreign goods being excluded, he is compelled to buy the domestic article, which even at the present higher price pays no part of the tax, and which is hereafter to come higher charged by the amount of so much excise and expense of collection as will answer the purposes of government. Nor is this the end of the grievance. A land tax will sooner or later follow in the rear, and complete the array of fiscal exactions.

It is in vain to shut our eyes on this consequence, or attempt to divert it by contrivances, which at best are but temporary, and will augment the future evil rather than control it. The government must be administered, and the expense for a series of years will never average less than the present. To increase in expenditure is the natural progress of affairs. Expence like revolutions 'never goes backward.' The land is the grand fulcrum for the lever, and the financier must use it to move the mighty mass which his operations require. It will be the most fertile contributor to taxation. The circle of evil will then be complete. The resources, which should be reserved for days of darkness and danger will be called forth and exhausted in the very quiet of peace. By our own act we shall then have done, what it is to be hoped no enemy will again be able to effect, we shall have shut our ports against a productive commerce, closed the gates of the treasury through which its stream of wealth was constantly flowing, and supplied its place by those inconvenient and artificial aids, which are the usual concomitants of war, danger, and ruin.

We say nothing of the inconvenience and trouble and expense of an excise and a land tax; the domiciliary visit, the inquisitive agent of the government, who acts as a spy on every body's private affairs, the exposure of a man's books and business, and the litigations and perplexity which these organized troops of the treasury bring with them. When the times require them, our fellow-citizens will submit to the evil, as they would to pestilence or famine; but they are establishments wholly hostile to republican habits and totally inconsistent with republican feelings.

The fate of the revenue, and the cry that the treasury is in danger is said to have been a mere scarecrow; and that this would not in the least deter the advocates of this measure from prosecuting their schemes with confidence and zeal. That such consequences would result are apparent. How they would be remedied is not so plain. If a new activity could be given to the people, they could bear a burthen, which somebody must bear, to keep the government alive. But we really do not comprehend how the fact of compelling one class of citizens to buy goods dear, which they now buy cheap, can facilitate the payment of taxes, or how destroying the revenue, which is raised by importation, and thereby in effect giving to certain manufacturers, as a direct bounty, the whole

amount of so much revenue as the excluded goods would produce, can enable any body but themselves to meet the equivalent demand, which is made on the people.

Capital employed in manufactures will not occupy so many people as the same amount in agriculture or commerce; and as machinery is improved, the number of hands in proportion to capital will still be less. Before the invention of Mr. Whittemore's card machine, which comes as near to fingers and hands and human intelligence, as any combination of wood and iron ever did or can do, the sticking of the cards was done by children and infirm people, and gave employment to a great many persons. The machine receives the leather and the wire, and turns out a perfect card; and the employment of the poor is at an end. Formerly one person had a full day's work to labour at a loom, now a girl attends to two, and each turns out double the former quantity of cloth. The rapidity and extent of these improvements are astonishing. No department of manufacture but has some patent machine to supercede labour. However useful and important these machines may be, and however wonderful the powers of the human mind which they display, this at least must be allowed to be an effect, that they diminish the number of hands to be employed, and cause the same quantity of capital to feed fewer people. Manufacturing establishments furnished with improved machinery, require capital indeed, but not men. They are themselves mighty labour-saving machines, that perform more work than the money which they cost will command from human beings. But this is not the want which besets us. We require not so much to save the necessity of labour, as to find the means of useful employment. We are rather seeking to set every man in the community in busy occupation, than contriving ways and means to supercede his employment. To take a well-known example, the factory at Waltham has a capital of above half a million, and employs two hundred and sixty persons. Invested in shipping, it would employ by the foregoing calculations at least six hundred persons, and in the general concerns of commerce, not less than that number. When the machinery which now moves two looms shall be made so perfect as to move four, one person will be deprived of employment. As the wheel turns more spindles, and the spindle turns off the thread with more certainty and correctness, the amount of human force now em-

ployed will not be wanted. The progress of these improvements is regular and rapid. Where the limit will be, no one can tell, but their tendency is to supersede labour by capital, to make money do the office of men ; to force the machine to take the place of the labourer, and to cause great wealth and little human exertion to perform the same work that otherwise would require multitudes to accomplish. We would not be misunderstood. These machines and this ingenuity are indispensable to the business, and of immense utility to the public. But when it is said that the making of cloth is to give employment to labourers, let it be remembered that the object of this miracle of contrivance is to do without labourers, or with as little of their aid as possible ; and that every improvement in machinery advances nearer to this end. They have already superseded many household manufactures for any other purpose than family consumption ; and greatly as the quantity of business is increased within the last ten years, it is doubtful whether the artizan has not been so far crowded out of employment by the machine, that no more hands are now employed than at that time.

An increase of duty on imported goods is said to be necessary to preserve the investment in machinery and buildings already erected, and to support establishments that would otherwise be ruined. This we deny. That many are injured, and that some have failed is true, but the misfortune originated rather with themselves than the government. Many have been badly managed. It was once considered that a building and a water privilege were the guaranties of success ; and if a bag of cotton was thrown down at the door, it would almost of its own accord become cloth. Agents were entrusted with a superintendence, without intelligence or fidelity. The machinery was badly constructed, or has been superseded by new improvements. An insufficient capital limited the operations ; and buying on credit and selling on credit, were equally unfortunate. To this may be added the common misfortunes of the times, which depressing all business and involving all interests, necessarily took these in their turn. In contradiction however to the assertion we are considering, it is known that well-managed institutions of sufficient capital, flourish under the present encouragement, and make very profitable returns.

If however embarrassments exist, shall they be removed at

the expense of the commercial capital of the country? Because our villages here and there present a decayed manufactory, shall our cities be made to exhibit a similar spectacle in ruined wharfs, decaying warehouses, and rotting ships? Shall the sea-shore be deserted that the ignorance or imbecility of speculation may be repaired? If the value or the cost of one is a subject of regret, what feelings should be excited by the more valuable and splendid establishments, with which the other has enriched and decorated the republic? Besides this, the kindness of the tariff would be more ruinous to the manufacturers, than any neglect of which they have had to complain. It is intended to be a permanent system, and it would draw the commercial capital into fatal competition with them. The business would be overdone and in this collision all would be sufferers. But should a change again take place, should the measure, which just rubs its way through the Congress of the United States, be viewed with hostility by the defeated party, and circumstances, ever changing, put the power in their hands; should that, which a small plurality had adopted, be repealed, though by as small a majority the other way, should commerce and agriculture regather their depressed strength and pull down the irregular fabric which was reared on their ruins, where then would be the interests of the manufacturers? Or where, we might say, the happiness of the country, torn by rival parties and sacrificing its wealth and prosperity in the conflicts of contending factions?

The prosperity of a people in a great measure rests on the uniformity of the system of government which bears on their business and property. If a man in his calculations for a voyage, is obliged to make insurance against the caprice of his government, he must abandon the enterprize, or incur an expense that may absorb its profits. It is so with manufactures. The immense expense of an establishment is not to be increased when the profit of the concern depends, not on the wants of the people, and the natural combination of circumstances, but on the varying policy of the nation and the permanency of public opinion. It is therefore better and safer that objects be attained in a natural and slow manner, which ensures them constant regard, than to be forced prematurely on the nation with a violence that overturns all interests in their way, and generates a hostility that retires only

for the purpose of making a more vigorous attack when opportunity shall offer.

The agricultural interest is deeply concerned in these projected innovations, and we think with no prospect of benefit from the change. The farmer cannot supply more people than he now does; for at present he supplies all the people of the country, and he always will do so whether they be more or less. But the advantage of the foreign market will be shut out from him; for exportation will depend on importation, and if little is wanted from abroad, or can be admitted if brought here, little will be sent away. It is the foreign supply that makes agriculture flourish, and gives quick market and high prices to the raiser of produce; and the moment the foreign market is supplied or closed, prices fall, or cultivation is diminished, or both consequences follow according to the urgency of the cause. In a country rich enough to be the granary of the world, the feeding of an indigenous population cannot create a demand, that will raise the price of produce much above the price of labour. This is an important consideration, and should be carefully borne in mind. The present state of the market proves it. The home market is regulated by the demand; and the demand is in proportion to the consumption at home and the quantity exported. Now the home consumption is nearly as great as ever. The population must be fed and clothed, and their food at least is supplied by the farmer. It is the curtailment of foreign trade that produces the deficiency. It is on account of the checks upon the accustomed commerce of the country that so much is not sent abroad as heretofore. The redundancy of production remains, and the price falls. Let the surplus of our fruitful soil be required for the artizans of Europe, for the supply of those swarms who must eat and work, although they work nearly for nothing, and a brisk demand and high prices is the immediate effect. The facilities of inland communication open all our country to the ocean, and produce finds its way to every place of demand. If it be true that in any part of the country domestic produce is at low price, and articles of clothing and foreign goods of all kinds are high, this state of things is in itself enough to afford liberal protection to domestic manufactures; and no aid of legislation is wanted to secure their advantage. The causes which obstruct their growth are beyond the reach of acts of Congress,

They are retarded by want of capital and want of hands. These are the materials out of which they must flourish. Manufactures grow out of abundant capital and dense population. Both are wanted for their success; and they will not succeed naturally where both are not readily supplied. No encouragement in the power of the government can give them the means of existence, when nature has denied the aliment by which they live.

These are some of the suggestions which present themselves in a consideration of the advantage of any extraordinary encouragement to internal manufactures, at the expense, or as it may turn out, the sacrifice of other great national interests. But the argument has soared above the smoke of business into a higher region. The market for tobacco and pitch and the manufacturing of wool have become matter of sentiment, and given occasion alternately to rouse our pride and our patriotism. We must be independent of foreign nations, it is said, and we cannot be so if we import their manufactures. This argument is specious, but not sound. Some articles of necessity must be had at home, and as necessity is the mother, and the prolific mother of invention, there can be no great apprehension of a deficiency. But it is with nations as individuals; fair exchange, open trafic, purchase and trade infer no dependence. Who feels his personal independence lessened because he cannot minister to all the wants of daily life; because his tradesmen and artizans around him prepare the materials which he requires? An individual might as well attempt to fix his independence by assuming the character of a jack of all trades, as a nation in modern times and in our state of society, expect to exist without the aid of its neighbours. God in his providence has distributed the materials of his bounty, and it is one of the laws of his government that we should all live, nations as well as individuals, by the exchange of productions and the reciprocity of good offices. There can be in this arrangement neither degrading humility nor diminished importance.

The suggestion therefore of the advocates for the proposed measures, is rather calculated to rouse our feelings, than aid our judgment. As an address to our patriotism it may be met by others of more value, we think, because better founded; as an argument to common sense, it is well answered by the memorial before us, in the following remarks:

'In a certain sense we may be said to depend on foreign nations for whatever we receive from them. But they equally depend on us for the equivalent which we pay them for it, and this dependence is voluntary and mutual. Nor is it any degradation from national dignity. A sovereign, who receives tribute from a foreign country, depends on it for that tribute; yet he is not therefore its servant, but its master. If one country produces only labour, and exports only manufactures, and another, in return for these, provides it with the raw materials composing them, the former may with most propriety be called dependent; for since every country has necessarily the capacity to labour in proportion to its population, that which produces the raw material may manufacture it whenever it chooses to do so; but the ability of the other to labour would be worthless, if it could not procure the material to which that labour may be applied. The exchange of raw cotton then for manufactures makes Europe dependent on America, rather than America on Europe. Ask the planter of the South, which of the two is dependant, himself or the Manchester spinner.'

To those who are inclined to consider the questions before us as in any degree separable from pecuniary balances, there are other topics of interest and excitement worthy of all their regard. What effect will this encouragement produce on the habits of our people? We look on the increase of manufacturing establishments as decidedly hostile to republican principles, and to the moral character of the community. Their natural tendency is to divide the community into two great classes, the very rich and the very poor, and thereby to destroy that equality on which our institutions are universally founded. Capital and machinery perform the work and receive their share of the profit, an immense profit too, under the circumstances which are projected. The people who direct their operations are mere labourers, day labourers, entitled to and receiving common journeyman's wages. As long as a demand exists for the article manufactured, and health enables the workman to continue at his labour, the amount of daily compensation keeps himself and his family from indigence. But it does no more; and any interruption of his avocation brings him in debt, dependence, and misery. The man who travels from his home and his friends, and aids in the formation of a new settlement in the wilderness, has a hard lot; but it is vastly preferable to the easiest task of the journeyman manufacturer. The former leaves the associations of his in-

infancy, travels to some new spot in the forest, *girdles* his trees, builds a log house, works hard for a year or two, and fares rather coarsely. But the tide of population follows him. He soon has a little family of young and hardy imitatators of his enterprize. He pays for his land by their labour, and having lived respectably, dies, and is buried on his own farm, and leaves a freehold inheritance for division among his children. The other goes to a manufactory; receives his one dollar or his two dollars per day; hires a ten-foot building in the vicinity of his work-shop, and taking into account the days he can and those in which he cannot work, makes shift to keep along a miserable existence; acquires habits that are not easily shaken off; has nothing left for his old age, if he lives to attain it; becomes a vagrant, supported by charity; and is finally buried at the expense of the parish.

This is not indeed the universal, but it is too frequently the comparative progress and result of the two occupations, and it is a state of things with regard to the latter very unfavourable to that elevation of character, which is to secure the permanency of our republican institutions. Constant labour and little means of education take from the tenants of great manufactories the ability to discharge the duties of citizens of a republic, and beget a dependence on the heads of the establishment, which lessens their value as citizens of the Commonwealth. The employment is enervating, and the place where it is carried on is not congenial to activity or health. With the want of instruction comes of course the want of moral susceptibility, and the history of manufacturing districts in those countries where they have been most successfully and extensively carried on, has presented a loathsome picture of a diseased, depraved, ignorant, and factious population.

It is in the ordinary course of affairs that great manufacturing establishments will arise and will flourish, but we think it unwise to accelerate their arrival. While there is an ocean to be traversed, or land to be cultivated, and while the hardihood and the vigour and the love of freedom, which these occupations give, are within the reach of our citizens, we are not desirous of diverting any large classes of our population to manufacturing concerns. We are not anxious to see the American Hercules at the distaff. The loom and the spindle are not the armour of national defence, and great manufacto-

ries are not the best schools to learn the lessons which must preserve our republican institutions. They will grow as the country grows. They are the natural result of an excessive population, and when they come naturally they can be endured, because other departments increase with them, and then should danger require it, our armies and our navy, recruited from the adventurous sons of the ocean, or the substantial cultivators of the soil, will be able to protect the tenants of these institutions, always too feeble to protect themselves. The true domestic industry which it is the policy of this country to encourage; that which will subserve the republican institutions by preserving the intelligence and purity of manners of our countrymen, is the industry of private families. This branch of domestic manufacture has strong claims to encouragement. It produces a spirit of industry among the people, and prevents the mingling of men, women and children in common masses in the workship, to the corruption of manners, and the enfeebling of the moral principle. It produces no dependence on the great and wealthy men, whose fortunes accumulate with the rapidity of the spindles in a great manufactory. It is not the sole employment, and therefore not relied on as the means of subsistence, but it comes usefully in aid of other avocations, and gives a spirit of economy and frugality, which are the best virtues of our country.

Let these be encouraged as much as can be done with convenience. While they maintain their own good respectability and give employment to a vast number of industrious and worthy people, they interfere with no other employment, and produce no rival interests that thrive only on the ruin of their neighbours.

Before closing these remarks, we cannot but congratulate our readers that one part of the anti-commercial system has been expressly disclaimed in the present session of Congress, by the organ of the committee, who reported the bills last winter. The manner in which this has been done and the extraordinary language of rebuke, with which the petitions against the repeal of the drawback are dismissed by the committee, unparliamentary as they seem to us, need not now be made the subject of remark. That the fact that one of the bills, reported last winter by the committee of manufactures, not only did not repeal, but provided for the continuance of drawback, furnishes a ground for dismissing with contumely peti-

tions against such repeal, we regard as a most irregular and unprecedented suggestion; grounded on an overweaning importance attached by the committee to their own functions. The history of the measures is briefly this. It is well known that a resolution to abolish drawback was brought forward in Dec. 1819, by a western member, with the concurrence, as was generally understood, of the zealous partizans of the manufacturing interest. This resolution was laid on the table, and was received with a burst of disapprobation by the commercial part of the community. The Missouri question came on, and all other business was laid aside. That question was decided, the committee of manufactures reported their bills, one of them contained sections providing for drawback, and these bills were lost. Now it might as well be argued that the loss of these bills ought to prevent the remonstrances of the merchant against their principles, as that the silent death of the resolution against drawbacks should prevent remonstrances against that. Of what consequence is it to the merchant, by what individual member of a great and active interest, the measures, which he regards as fatal, are proposed? Of what avail is it to him that a report of a committee, vested with no deciding power, which report may be moulded to any form in the hands of the house, that this report provides for drawback; while a motion to abolish it, proceeding from the same general quarter, is still on the table of the house? Or if it be granted that the renunciation, on the part of the committee, of any design against the drawback, furnish encouragement to hope for its security, does this amount to so strong an assurance, as to make it not only superfluous but indecent to petition against the principle of a resolution, brought forward in pursuance of the same general policy, and capable at any moment of being called up and enacted?

ART. V.—*The Heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem as revealed from Heaven. From the Latin of Emanuel Swedenborg.* 2d American edition. Hilliard & Metcalf, 1820, pp. 99.

EMANUEL SWEDENBORG, whose name and writings have lately attracted more attention, in this vicinity, than heretofore, was born at Upsal, in Sweden, on the 29th of January, 1688. No *memorabilia* have yet transpired respecting his infancy; but he was early distinguished for his knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, and physical science; and for numerous writings on those subjects. He was always, as far as we can learn, respected and beloved for the excellence of his character; and previous to his spiritual visions, he had become known, in other countries beside his own, by his travels through a great part of Europe.

It was about the year 1740, that he is said to have relinquished temporal for spiritual concerns; and in 1745 he received the first commands and favours from heaven, with which he afterwards maintained an every-day familiarity. The following is the account which he gives of his first call from Deity. It is in a letter to Mr. Robsam, in the preface to the treatise of Heaven and Hell.

'I dined very late at my lodgings at London, and ate with great appetite, till, at the close of my repast, I perceived a kind of mist about my eyes, and the floor of my chamber was covered with hideous reptiles. They soon disappeared, the darkness was dissipated, and I saw clearly in the midst of a brilliant light, a man seated in the corner of the chamber, who said to me in a terrible voice: *eat not so much.* At those words my sight became obscured; afterwards it became clear by degrees, and I found myself alone. The night following, the same man, radiant with light, appeared to me and said, "I am God, the Lord, creator and redeemer; I have chosen you to unfold to men the internal and spiritual sense of the sacred writings, and will dictate to you what you are to write." At that time I was not terrified; and the light, although very brilliant, made no unpleasant impression upon my eyes. The Lord was clothed in purple, and the vision lasted a quarter of an hour. That same night the eyes of my internal man were opened, and fitted to see things in heaven, in the world of spirits, and in hell, in which places I found many persons of my acquaintance, some of them long since, and others lately deceased.'

It is not peculiar to any individual to mistake for supernatural, that which may be accounted for according to known relations of cause and effect. With the vulgar, nothing is more common; and the love of the marvellous among them is such, as to encourage the most strange and crude relations of their experiences, which wiser men sometimes believe, or turn to account. Visions among the Romish saints were frequently pretended to be experienced; and no doubt men of no less philosophical minds than Swedenborg's have had their share of visions, which if narrated would be equally as credible as those of our author. In the case before us, it would seem that Swedenborg gave too ready admission to impressions, which to those who are unprepared for the recital of them, must appear exceedingly ludicrous; ludicrous not in themselves so much, as for the gravity with which they are related. To us they appear to be the effect, though somewhat extraordinary, of excessive indulgence of appetite, after an unusual interval of fasting, and while, perhaps, neither the body nor the mind were sufficiently composed. Certain nervous symptoms, not unlike those described by Swedenborg, sometimes occur in cases of *dyspepsia*, or sudden indigestion. Many such are enumerated by medical writers; namely, giddiness, noise in the ears, occasional dimness of sight, a sense of objects floating before the eyes, restlessness, unrefreshing sleep during the night, temporary absence of mind, impaired memory, &c.

To any rational man, we need assign no other cause for the first symptoms of alienation of mind, in the author, whose works we have partially examined; it being the part of true philosophy not to seek beyond a sufficient and well ascertained cause, for any physical or intellectual phenomenon. How far the intervention of medical skill might have weaned him from the society of immortals in other regions, we cannot now determine; but it is evident, as it may well be supposed, that finding the flesh no obstacle to soaring into the celestial spheres, and descending to the infernal abodes, he soon became so conversant with their inhabitants, that he has told as much, and probably as much truth about them, as the heathen poets did of their Elysium and their Tartarus. He is not the only one who has written dialogues of the dead; but he is the first man in christendom, we believe, who so far imposed on himself and on others, as to create a belief,

among so many, that he was a new prophet, the author of a new dispensation, and the founder of a new church. On what such claims are grounded, it seems proper now to inquire, since we find disciples among us zealous enough to publish and inculcate the writings of their supposed prophet.

Miracles are thought to be of little value, and are treated somewhat contemptuously, by the disciples of Swedenborg. His own opinions on this subject are sufficiently manifested in the following passage from his *Arcana Cœlestia*.

'With respect to prodigies and signs, it is to be observed, that they were performed amongst such persons as were in external worship, and were not desirous of knowing any thing about internal worship; for they who were in such worship, were to be compelled by external means; hence it was, that miracles were performed among the Israelitish and Jewish people, who were merely in external worship, and in none that was internal. It was also necessary for them to be in external worship, when they would not be in that which is internal, in order that they might represent holy things in externals, and thus that communication might be given with heaven, as by something of a church; for correspondences, representatives, and significatives conjoin the natural world to the spiritual. Hence now it was, that so many miracles were performed among that nation. But with those who are in internal worship, that is, in charity and faith, miracles are not performed, being to such persons hurtful; for miracles force or compel to believe, and whatsoever is of compulsion doth not remain, but is dissipated. The internal things of worship, which are faith and charity, ought to be implanted in freedom, for then they are appropriated; and the things which are appropriated remain. But the things which are implanted by compulsion abide without the internal man in the external; for nothing enters into the internal man except by intellectual ideas, which are reasons, the ground which receives them there being the rational principle enlightened: hence it is that no miracles are performed at this day.* That they are also of a hurtful nature, may appear from the following consideration; they compel to believe, and fix in the external man an idea that a thing is so or so; if the internal man afterwards, denies what the miracles have confirmed, then there commences an opposition and collision between the internal and external man, and at length, when the ideas produced from miracles are dissipated, the conjunction of falsehood and truth takes place, which is prophanation. Hence it is evident how dangerous and hurtful miracles would be at this day in the church, wherein the internals of worship are disclosed.

[* 'Voila, pourquoi votre fille est muette.']

These things are also signified by the Lord's words to Thomas: "because thou hast seen me, Thomas, thou hast believed; blessed are they who see not and believe;" consequently they also are blessed, who believe, not by miracles. But miracles are not hurtful to those, who are in external worship, without internal, for with such there cannot be any opposition between the internal and external man, thus no collision, and consequently no prophanation.'

We have here quoted from *Hindmarsh*, a most earnest and laborious disciple of Swedenborg; and though there is sufficient obscurity in the passage, it is probably a much more intelligible translation from the original, than we, the uninitiated, could make. What the great prophet of the New Jerusalem church shadowed forth, the disciple whom we have just cited has pursued with zeal; and it is amusing, if it were not more painful, to witness such overweaning ardour and fanaticism of the genuine pupil of a visionary master, as we find in the following, among other passages in Hindmarsh's letters to Priestley:

'As former dispensations required the aid and assistance of miracles, in order to induce mankind to acknowledge them, this argues at least, that they did not carry with them that clear and rational evidence of their truth, which was of itself sufficient to gain credit among men: for wherever the truth of a thing cannot be established by any other means than by miracles, it plainly implies that it is involved in obscurity, doubt, and uncertainty. Such was the case with all former dispensations, which only *shadowed forth* and *represented* the last and most magnificent of all, the *New Jerusalem*. This last and greatest of dispensations requires no miracles, because the truths it displays are of themselves clear, rational, and satisfactory. It is too dignified to stoop down to the earth for any thing that resembles a miracle; for by so doing, its heaven-born glory would be tarnished, and a cloud would overspread the sky, so as to interrupt the beams of celestial light, proceeding from him who is the sun of righteousness.'

Such and similar to this is the reasoning of Swedenborgians concerning miracles. We do not say in reply, that miracles are necessary to a new dispensation of divine truth, because this is begging the question at issue. But we cannot avoid saying, that the reasons assigned by Swedenborg and his followers, why they would be not only useless, but unsuitable, in evidence of the truth of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem church are, as far as they are intelligible,

exceedingly strange, if not irreverent. If by the jargon of externals and internals, be meant any thing more than the distinction between what merely regards the senses, and that which pertains exclusively to the understanding, it is too subtile and refined for our comprehension. According to our interpretation of Swedenborg's meaning, there was, it is acknowledged, much that was external in the religion of the Jewish church, though this was far from being the great *end* of its religion. But the case is far otherwise in the Christian church: what is properly external and merely significative, is but a small part of the religion of christians. And it needed neither miracles nor a new dispensation to sever the protestants from a church, much of whose corruption, as they believed, consisted in superinducing, on the simple religion of Christ, a multitude of ceremonial observances, which tended to absorb the moral and spiritual in what was merely sensible. It must be a strange conceit in any one who calls himself a christian, that for nearly eighteen centuries, all the followers of Christ had been kept in that state of degradation, in which they could perceive nothing but what was comparatively gross and mean in their religion, and could not fail to overlook every thing that was most pure, and spiritual, and elevated. Nor can we find, after all the researches we have made, that the doctrines of the New Jerusalem develop a single point of morals before unknown, or make any disputable questions in morality more clear. There is nothing, we admit in what Swedenborg professes to teach, that was worthy of miracles. Certain corruptions of Christianity he has indeed exposed, but less satisfactorily, by far, than many enlightened christians have done, who made no pretensions to inspiration, where no inspiration was requisite. Whatever is peculiar (*visions* always excepted) is merely speculative, and to our dark understandings, often absurd. Of how much regard his visions are worthy, we mean presently to show.

It is not our business to reply to any fanatical followers of Swedenborg. But if it be a fair deduction from his writings that a divine revelation is degraded by the miracles that accompany it; that all the beneficent acts of our Saviour, which transcended human power; that above all, his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension to heaven, are so many blots and stains on the character of our holy religion,

we are willing to give them all the benefit of their arguments, without attempting to answer them.

Further, we cannot admit the truth of the assertion, even if it were not profane, that the intervention of miracles implies a want of clear and rational evidence of the doctrines which they are intended to maintain. We can easily conceive how difficult it is to excite the attention of mankind to a system of religion, which militates against errors long cherished, and especially to convince them of truths against which their pride and ambition must be at once placed in powerful array. Now this is the case with christianity, which, whatever may be said about *externals*, we all believe to be a spiritual religion demanding a spiritual worship. What could tend more to draw the attention of mankind to the truths it imparted, and to the divine mission of its author, than such miracles as those to which we have alluded? Surely it is not becoming in us to say, that they were unworthy of a messenger from heaven, or that they have no bearing on what was spiritual in his religion. But apart from miracles, and in relation to the comparatively *clear and rational evidence* of christianity and the *New Jerusalem*, we would ask the Swedenborgians to compare the effect of the *preaching* of Christ, and Peter, and Paul, with that of all the voluminous writing of their pretended prophet, and give us the result.

Though Swedenborg and his followers pretend to no miracles performed in attestation of his divine mission; yet there is much in what belongs to their religion of a miraculous character. Besides the visions related, pertaining to other worlds, and other beings besides man, and other states of existence, the disciples of Swedenborg have carefully transmitted several instances of his prescience, and news from the regions of the dead, which are very marvellous. We select the following accounts of his supernatural knowledge, from Hindmarsh's letters to Priestley. We have seen the same in the writings of other Swedenborgians, without any variation of facts and circumstances.

'1. Count Hopken, a Swedish nobleman, has confirmed the truth of the two following transactions. After the decease of the Count De Marteville, certain persons came to demand a debt of his widow, of a considerable sum of money, that they said was due to them by her deceased her husband. This she knew was not a

just debt, because it had been paid during his life-time; yet could not tell where the acquittance or receipt was. In her trouble she applied to Mr. Swedenborg; and understanding that he had the privilege of conversing with the deceased, requested that (if possible) he would ask her late husband where the acquittance was. On the next day Mr. Swedenborg informed her, that he had seen and spoken to her deceased husband, who told him where he had put the acquittance, and that she would find it in the particular place described. It was accordingly found in the same place; and this account was universally known to be true both at court and at Stockholm. The queen of Sweden herself, being afterwards on a visit at Berlin, confirmed the truth of this relation to several academicians, whom she had invited to her table.'

'2. The second remarkable transaction is the following. The queen dowager of Adolphus Frederick, and sister to the late king of Prussia, soon after having heard the foregoing account, and several others concerning Mr. Swedenborg, told the senator, Count Hopken, that she wished to speak to him. The Count, in going to carry the queen's orders, met Mr. Swedenborg, who was on his way to the palace, with a design to speak to that princess. After having conversed on various subjects, the queen informed him that she had lately written a letter to her brother, a prince of Prussia, who had since died. The contents of her letter, she observed, were of so secret a nature, that no person in the world had any knowledge of them, but that brother; and she wished Mr. Swedenborg to ask him, whether he had received her letter before his death; to which he replied that he would give her an answer in a few days. At the time appointed, Mr. Swedenborg waited on the queen, and related to her the whole contents of the said letter, word for word, [well committed to memory] at which she was struck with the greatest astonishment. He further informed her majesty that her brother had received her letter, and begun an answer to it, and that in the *escrutoire* of the prince was an unfinished letter, which he intended to have sent her before his decease. On this she sent to the king of Prussia, and the letter was found, as Mr. Swedenborg had directed, which the king sent to her. This circumstance was also publicly known at Stockholm, and much talked of out of the kingdom. The Baron, in a letter to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, dated July 13, 1771, confirms the truth of this relation, yet says," It is not to be accounted as any kind of miracle, but only as a memorable transaction, like those found in the work entitled *True Christian Religion*, concerning Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and others; which are only to be considered as evidences that, as to the spirit, I have been introduced by the Lord into the spiritual world, and that I converse both with angels and spirits."'

Another remarkable occurrence is, that, when Swedenborg was told, at Gottenburg, that his house was consumed in a great fire at Stockholm, he, without a possibility of hearing by the *post*, affirmed that his house was safe, and described the extent of the fire; and that in both particulars his account was verified. Another is, that, when he embarked at London for Sweden, he predicted to Captain Dixon, in order to prevent any anxiety about his supply of provisions, the very hour when he would arrive at Stockholm, which prediction was exactly fulfilled.

We should probably be as much laughed at for replying to these idle tales, as we have been diverted ourselves in reading them. There is still, we believe, among the vulgar, some remnant of belief in witchcraft and divination; and in times past there have been, in other countries, men as enlightened as those at the court of Sweden equally as infatuated, or as ready to act a part, as those who countenanced the wonderful stories we have selected. We remember, when we were children, to have heard as extraordinary instances of supernatural knowledge, in an old woman in our vicinity, as any of these which are attributed to Swedenborg. She could tell which ticket would draw the highest prize in a lottery, and where stolen goods would be found, and many other things equally marvellous.

There are some other predictions of Swedenborg, about as important as that concerning Captain Dixon's voyage, which are said to have been exactly accomplished. He is said also to have foretold the precise time of his death. None of these things however were recorded till after the events happened. But there is one prophecy of his, of more consequence than all the rest, because it has a direct bearing upon his character, as an inspired prophet, and on the propagation of his religion; and because there are now millions of men in the world, who, if the prophecy be true, will live to witness its fulfilment. We are told that, a few days before his death, an intimate friend said to him, 'In the name of God, before whom you will shortly appear, in the name of friendship, declare to me, if what you have written is the truth.' Swedenborg replied: 'My doctrine is true, it has been revealed to me; and in eighty years it will be very widely diffused.' We have no very accurate data from which we can form an estimate of the number of Swedenborg's followers; and, it should seem, there is

something of caution in his *prediction*, concerning the number. This, it may be foreseen, whatever hopes may be excited among the members of the New Jerusalem Church, in regard to the increase of believers, will give them opportunity, in the end, to make great limitations, in what now seems to imply a number *indefinitely* large, but intended to bear a comparison, far from contemptible, with the rest of the christian community.

The great burden of evidence in favour of the divine commission of Swedenborg, we are told by his disciples, is to be found in the *doctrines* of the New Jerusalem. It is therefore internal; and it requires (if we rightly comprehend some of the full believers) something like a prior faith, to go sufficiently far into the revelations of the great prophet, to become illuminated and spiritualized. Now if it be the *doctrines* of the New Jerusalem, that claim for their immediate author a divine commission, it must be what is new, and not what was already well known. Before touching however upon any thing which is peculiar and novel in doctrine, we would first remark, that what strikes a novice in regard to the supposed new prophet with most surprise is, that he knows and imparts more, concerning what is beyond human ken, than the Son of God himself; to say nothing of the ancient patriarchs and prophets. This is so extraordinary, that it cannot be rendered credible, but by the excellence and the practical utility of the truths revealed. The truths too should be of such a kind, that they cannot be ascribed to a fervid imagination, without the intervention of a power above. When Swedenborg tells us every where in his works—'This is what the Lord revealed to me on such a subject—this is what the angels said—I assisted in the heavens at a conference held in the temple of wisdom—I have been at one of the schools—I have heard such and such things debated—I heard such things decreed—I have seen in the spiritual world, Pythagoras, Socrates, Luther, Calvin, Xenophon, Sixtus Quintus, Louis XIV, Newton, Wolf, Hans Sloane, &c.', our first feeling is not so much that of incredulity, as it is of the ludicrous. That this learned Swede, if he had not lost his wits, should talk more familiarly of Deity, and angels, and prophets, and philosophers in heaven, and of his intercourse with them, than of the occurrences and people in the dwellings and streets of Stockholm, is

so wonderful, that no slight evidence can persuade us of its truth.

To a large proportion of our readers, probably, we shall communicate something new, by selecting some passages from Swedenborg's visions. For, if we mistake not, his followers are not, either in their writings or conversation, very apt to acquaint us with many of the minute particularities contained in them, concerning the spiritual and celestial world.

In his vision concerning *creation*, he heard a dialogue between the *Satans*, upon God and nature ; in which they maintain that ' God is but a name, if, by that name, nature is not intended.' We present our readers an abridgement of it.

' At their own desire those Satans are permitted to mount from the darkness of hell into the world of spirits, which holds the middle place between heaven and hell. Two angels descended from heaven to sustain the dispute, and *I was present there.* " Ye simple ones," says one of the infernal spirits, " with your belief in God !" And then he goes on with his argument to identify God and nature, though the scriptures tell us, the devils believe there is one God, and tremble. The angels made a reply, which it must have puzzled the Satans exceedingly to understand, and we are not told what effect it produced. He next tells us of another Satan who came from hell into the world of spirits with a prostitute, and gives a disgusting dialogue, in which it appears that these personages had no notion of lawful wedlock. After a conversation, which proved that the Satan knew neither what he was, nor what he had been, and that he had forgotten he had lived and died on earth, and that he had not heard any thing in the world of spirits ; ' I tried,' says Swedenborg, ' to recall it to him, to speak to him of God, of angels, of heaven ; he fled, laughing immoderately, and treating me like a fool.

' Then an angel approached me and said, " Your meditations and discourses on creation have gained you great applause, and secured your reception into our society ; I will now show you the figurative type of the creation and teach you how God created animals and vegetables of every kind." ' The angel then conducted his guest to an immense verdant plain, where he saw successively all kinds of birds and beasts, and fruit-trees and fruits, and shrubs and flowers, and trees of the forest, &c. &c. The vision then continues :

' All these objects you have seen, says my guide, are so many correspondences of the affections of love of the angels about you ; and he made me know the affection to which every thing

corresponded, assuring me that every thing which struck their eyes.—houses. utensils, tables, food, garments, metals, precious stones, that every thing in fine was a correspondence to the angels, and enabled them to know the internal state of each other. By this type, he added, you may see the creation of the universe. God is love and wisdom ; the affections of that love, the perceptions of that wisdom are infinite ; and all created objects upon earth are correspondences of those affections and perceptions. Correspondences, like those of our natural world, exist also in the spiritual world for angels, who receive the God of love and wisdom ; with this difference, that the correspondences of the spiritual world are created at the moment, according to the interior of the angels, and that in the natural world they were created at the beginning. so as to be renewed by generation and reproduction. In our world it is instantaneous, and in yours it is durable, by means of generation ; because the lands and atmospheres of our world are spiritual, and the lands and atmospheres of yours are natural. Natural *gold* was created to conceal spiritual, like the skin to cover the body, bark the trees, &c. In the hells, objects are seen opposed, which are correspondences of the affections of evil, and of perceptions of falses, &c. &c. As we conversed about the hells, the noise and odour which proceeded thence began to annoy us, and the angel quitted me, after having enjoined it upon me to publish on earth, what I had seen and heard in the spiritual world.'

Our readers are here introduced to the doctrine of correspondences, which forms so distinguishing a part of the theory of the New Jerusalem. But before we proceed farther on this subject, we cannot forbear selecting a few short specimens more of the visions and supernatural communications to be found in the writings of Swedenborg, which we think will go far to settle the weight of internal evidence in favour of the truth of his new doctrines.

In his vision concerning heaven, among other things, he says ;

' The new-comers were conducted into different quarters of the celestial city, and were shown an auditory, a public library, books, paper, ink, quills, manuscripts, and scribes who copied them, museums, colleges and literary exercises, officers, governors, artists and various works. Virgins brought them presents of stuffs embroidered and woven with their own hands. As they departed they sung to them, after an angelic mode, an ode which expressed the affections and thoughts which corresponded to the use of the presents they made.'

Again.

'During my meditation I was transported in spirit into a celestial society, placed at the left, towards the east, of which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* is the chief. In our conversation, he told me that his society was composed of the most judicious and reasonable among the catholics, and that he had been placed at their head in the heavens, for having believed, six months before his death, that the pretence of the pope being the vicar of Jesus Christ was an invention of the pontifs, to gratify their lust of domination..... He told me, in fine, and enjoined it on me to announce it to men on earth, that those who maintained a faith contrary to that he had now declared, would become dolts in the world of spirits; that after some time they would be united to those like them, and would fall into the hells, where they would become maniacs, living like beasts, while they would think themselves gods. I did not conceal from him that these things appeared to me very hard to be published. Write them, he replied, I will subscribe them, because it is the truth. Immediately rejoining his society, he subscribed a paper containing those assertions, and sent it as a bull to those of his former communion on earth.'

Once more:

'One day,' says Swedenborg, in his vision relating to writing in heaven, 'while I meditated on celestial truth, a leaf of paper written in Hebrew characters, like those of the ancients, was sent to me from heaven; the lines appeared to me curved, and full of accents placed above the letters. The angels around me said, that by a single letter they grasped the whole sense; that they discerned it especially in the curves of the lines, and the flexion of accents, of which they explained to me the different significations, according as they were joined or separate. They told me that the letter H. added to the names of Abraham and Sarah, signified infinite and eternal. They explained to me by the letters alone the true sense of a verse in one of the psalms. They taught me further, that the writing of the third heaven was composed of letters differently inclined, each of which contained one sense; that the vowels served there only for the sound corresponding to the affection, and that, in this heaven, they could not pronounce the vowels *i* and *e* [the German *i* and *e* we suppose] but in their place *y* and *eu*. They told me that the vowels *a*, *o* and *u* were, on account of their full sound, used in the third heaven, and that there were no harsh consonants employed there; every thing there is sweet, and hence it is that many Hebrew letters in use

there are pointed internally, to indicate that they are to be pronounced with sweetness. These angels added, that harshness of letters and of pronunciation might exist in the spiritual heaven, whose inhabitants are in the truth, but not in the third heaven, whose inhabitants are in the good, or in love.'

Such, and a great deal more, similar to these examples, are the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg. They are often very minute in the dialogue, giving the names and the exact words of the interlocutors, and very minute details of persons, and employments, and administration in the spiritual world. Some of the visions are ingenious and amusing fables, and some of them are too doting or childish even to deserve this character. We have given these specimens without searching for those which are most improbable or most frivolous. But they are such, it seems to us, as completely justify the first impressions which every rational man receives, from being made acquainted with the grounds on which a prophetic character is claimed for their author. We say *first impressions*, because the disciples of Swedenborg allow, that the writings of their great teacher do not always, if ever, approve themselves to the judgment and understanding of a novice. They tell us we must read and read, till our spiritual man is enlightened. We do not profess to have searched very deeply into the mysteries of this new faith ; but from what progress we have made, it seems to us that the reader must either be more and more wearied and disgusted as he advances, or, after being awhile bewildered in the mazes which lie between sense and nonsense, become as visionary and brainsick as the apostle of the New Jerusalem church himself. Now if these spiritual visions be the basis of all the spiritual knowledge of Swedenborg, which will not be denied by his followers, since it would take away the only proof on which they can rest, it may be safely presumed, that the great body of readers will regard them as so utterly unworthy of a supernatural origin, that they are not bound to examine any of the theories and dogmas that are founded upon them.

Among the most remarkable theories and dreams of Swedenborg, are those concerning *correspondences*, particularly as connected with the *internal sense of scripture*, *and Heaven and Hell.*

The *science* of *correspondences*, as it is technically called, is the key which unlocks the internal or spiritual sense, and thus

exposes all the genuine and before hidden treasures of the word of God. Science, as it is called, however, it is of the most flexible kind; and while it arrogates to itself a uniform character, and one perfectly distinct from every thing else, it is at different times *analogy*, *allegory*, *type*, *parable*, *metaphor*, or any thing else, which can help out an ingenious theory. It seems to us, however, for the most part, to be founded sometimes in known, and sometimes in imaginary analogies, between the natural and spiritual world; and to a certain extent it is neither new nor abhorrent from reason. But when it goes so far as to tell us that the spiritual always answers in form to the natural; that the material and spiritual world is a great man with all his parts; that God exists in a human shape; that the spiritual sun answers to the natural, and cheers with its radiant beams the celestial inhabitants; in fine, that every substance on earth has its corresponding spiritual substance in the heavens; we are presented either with a shadowy and unsatisfying fiction, or with one which we cannot divest of gross materialism throughout. Alike fanciful, if it be pressed far, is the supposed correspondence existing between the body of a man, in all its parts, and his soul or spirit; and no less so that which is maintained to exist between the letter and spirit in the writings of the Old and New Testament. It is here that the science of correspondences becomes chiefly important, since it develops the isternal sense, which it is so essential to know; though the first christians, and the most enlightened in all succeeding ages, till the time of Swedenborg, were too simple, too much in the infancy of knowledge, to comprehend any thing about it.

That our readers may have some notion of this all important doctrine of correspondences, so far as it purports to evolve the internal sense, we shall just touch on its history and application.

On the authority of Swedenborg we are told, that the doctrines of correspondences was well known to the ancients, who deemed it the first of sciences, and wrote all their books according to its principles. The book of Job he asserts to be full of correspondences, and tells us that they also pervade the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the fabulous stories of antiquity. The ceremonials and statues too belonging to the different religions of the ancients, were nothing but correspondences. All the rights and festivals of the Israelitish church,

and the outward acts and the vestments of the priests were of the same kind. 'And, inasmuch as divine things fix their existence in outward nature in correspondences, therefore the word was written by mere correspondences; for whatever proceedeth from the Divinity, when it comes into outward nature, manifests itself in such outward things as correspond with what is divine; which outward things become the repositories of divine things, otherwise called celestial and spiritual, that lie contained within them in a hidden and mysterious manner.'

We are told farther, by Swedenborg, how the science of correspondences, which was so extensively known and understood by the ancients, and which was long preserved among the Asiatics, particularly the wise men and divines, was in process of time obscured, and at length totally lost. It began at first to be corrupted by the idolatrous and magical application of the representative rites of the church. What is most remarkable of all, the Israelites and Jews, whose divine worship is said to have consisted entirely of correspondences representing heavenly things, had no knowledge of a single thing represented, since 'they were mere natural men, and therefore had neither inclination nor ability to gain any understanding of spiritual and celestial subjects. For the same reason they were necessarily ignorant of correspondences, these being representations of things spiritual and celestial in things natural.'

Further, we are informed how the idolatries of the Gentiles had their origin in the science of correspondences. 'The ancients, who were versed in this science, made themselves images which corresponded with things celestial, and were delighted with them, because they could discern in them what related to heaven and the church, and therefore they placed those images both in their temples and in their houses, not with any intention to worship them, but to serve as a means of recollecting the celestial things signified by them.' These positions are illustrated by particular instances, which, as far as we can discern, have nothing to do with the science of correspondences, or any other science. There is nothing of discovery in the fact announced, that the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians are founded in some analogy subsisting between the sign and what is signified; nor in the other fact, that the sensible objects which came to be worshipped as idols, were sig-

nificative of moral qualities; but it is the mere affectation of science to arrange these facts under a name, which is intended to give an imposing character to the theory of a new religion.

Lastly, in this historical account, we come to the writings of the New Testament.

'The reason,' says Swedenborg, 'why the science of correspondences, which is the true key to the spiritual sense of the word, was not discovered to later ages, was, because the christians of the primitive church were men of such great simplicity, that it was to no purpose to discover it to them; for, had it been discovered, they would have found no use in it, nor would they have understood it. After those first ages of christianity, there arose thick clouds of darkness, which overspread the whole christian world, first in consequence of many heretical opinions propagated in the church, and soon after in consequence of the decrees and determinations in the council of Nice, concerning the existence of three divine persons from eternity, and concerning the person of Christ, as the son of Mary, and not as the son of Jehovah God. Hence sprung the present faith of justification, in which three Gods are approached and worshipped, according to their respective orders, and on which depend all and every thing belonging to the present church, as the members of the body depend on the head. And because men applied every part of the word to confirm this erroneous faith, therefore the spiritual sense could not be discovered; for, had it been discovered, they would have applied it also to the confirmation of the same faith, and thereby would have profaned the very holy word, and thus would have shut up heaven entirely against themselves, and have removed the Lord from the church.'

That the science of correspondences was known to the ancients, is a favourite part of Swedenborg's theory on this subject; and in his vision which relates to it, the Grecian sages in heaven put the most learned and enlightened christians to shame for their ignorance of that in their religion, which it was mainly important for them to know. And it is a position no less extraordinary, that through the whole period of the Hebrew church, nothing of consequence was known concerning those dispensations of heaven which were expressly designed and calculated for a peculiar people; that nothing was understood by the Hebrews, but what terminated in mere external ceremony, and that their religion answered no great moral purpose in regard to their indi-

vidual state. Were such vagaries worthy of a reply, we might ask whether any man in his sense can believe that God, a God of infinite wisdom, could thus trifle with his rational offspring. We might more reasonably suppose him to impart a new animal sense, to correct the imperfections of those already given, or a new language, to shew that those now in existence are incapable of conveying any thing intelligible, than we can conceive that he has chosen a new messenger, to explain his word in a way that was never dreamed of, (or *only* dreamed of,) after it had been the prescribed rule of life to millions of intelligent beings, in successive ages of the world, who had founded upon it all their hopes of immortality, and drawn from it all their consolation, amidst the trials and vicissitudes of life.

If any thing were wanting to convince us of the extreme absurdity of what is denominated the science of correspondences in the New Jerusalem Church, the deficiency might be made up by an attention to the manner in which it is applied. Let one example suffice. In the vocabulary of this church, '*horse* invariably signifies the *understanding*, and *chariot* means *doctrine*.'

'That such,' says Swedenborg, 'was the signification of chariot and horse, was perfectly well known in the ancient churches, for those churches were representative churches, and with the people thereof the science of correspondences and representations was the chief of all sciences. From those churches the signification of horse, as expressive of the understanding, was derived to the wise men round about, even to Greece. Hence it was, when they would describe the sun, in which they placed the God of their wisdom and intelligence, that they attributed to it a chariot and four horses of fire. And when they would describe the rise of the sciences from understanding, that they also feigned a winged horse, which with its hoof broke open a fountain, at which were nine virgins called the sciences; for from the ancient church they received this knowledge, that by horse is signified the understanding, by wings spiritual truth, by hoof what is scientific from the understanding, and by fountain doctrine from which sciences are derived. Nor is any thing else signified by the Trojan horse, than artifice or cunning exercised by their understanding in destroying the walls. Indeed, in our day, when the understanding is described after the manner received from those ancients, it is usual to figure it by a flying horse, or pegasus; so likewise doc-

trine is described by a fountain, and the sciences by virgins; but scarce any one knows, that by horse, in the mystic sense, is signified the understanding; still less that those significatives were derived from the ancient representative churches to the gentiles.'

That the range of this boasted science is circumscribed by no narrow limits, may be readily inferred from the strange, roving fancy, which is manifested in this extract. Indeed, by examination, it will be found that it extends through the three great kingdoms of nature. The name of every animal stands for some corresponding affection; trees and plants, whether individually, or in groves and gardens, represent some good or truth pertaining to the church; and every metal and precious stone, and indeed the whole mineral kingdom, is significative of something moral or spiritual.

Great delight is expressed by the disciples of Swedenborg at his account of the spiritual world, and the wonders he unfolds concerning things invisible. He saw and heard, and acquainted himself with, what before him, 'eye had not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.' The spiritual world, according to his account, is composed of heaven, of the world of spirits, and of hell. There are three heavens, the celestial, the spiritual, and the inferior. Each, as a whole, and in its parts, corresponds to the form of a man; and the whole heavens, collectively, correspond to the parts of the human body. The superior or celestial heaven is the head; the spiritual or second heaven extends from the neck to the knees; and the inferior heaven forms the arms, even to the extremities of the fingers, and the legs to the soles of the feet. In heaven, we learn from the same source, are waters, groves, lands, palaces, gardens, cities, houses, animals, fruits, precious stones, gold, garments, in fine every thing we see on earth; with this difference, that the things of heaven are of a spiritual substance, more perfect in form and corresponding to the state of angels. In heaven also there are governments, employments, offices, amusements, divine worship, travels, ranks, conditions of life civil and domestic, corresponding to the angelic state.

The world of spirits is a place, or rather a state between heaven and hell; where every one goes as soon as he is dead. There every one is judged and thence ascends to heaven, or descends to hell; but those who go thither, remain for dif-

ferent periods of time, whether at their own option or not, we are not told. Some remain but a short time, others several years, though none pass in it more than thirty years. This reminds us of a story told by Erasmus, concerning a Romish ecclesiastic of some rank, who, after his death, should have been prayed out of purgatory by some of the priests. Having neglected their duty, they were censured by a prelate for the omission, in presence of a servant of the deceased, who entreated the prelate to give himself no uneasiness, for his master was of so restless a disposition, that he never spent, in one place, more than time enough to take a glass of wine.

Swedenborg describes hell as exhibiting the appearances of vast holes or gulfs illuminated by a light that resembles burning coals. The eyes of the infernal spirits are fitted to that false light, so that when they withdraw from their caverns, they are grievously tormented by the celestial light. Again the abodes of hell appear like caves placed obliquely, or the subterraneous passages of mines, and to these are added many disgusting particulars which may as well be passed by. 'I have not,' says Swedenborg, 'seen all the societies of the infernal regions, but God *favoured* me with the sight of many of them; and it was told me that as the entire heaven represented a man, so the whole hell represented a devil.'

The punishment of those in hell is represented with sufficient probability to consist in there being tormented by the same vicious inclinations and wicked passions, which they felt and indulged upon earth. But here again, in the details there are the same whimsical inventions of imagination that we have so often adverted to on other subjects. The wicked spirits seek for pleasures, honours, and riches, and obtain them, and lose them; they sit here and there, sad and solitary; they are hungry and have nothing to eat; they enter into cottages where they beg to live, and where they seek for occupations, which they obtain and abandon. Pursued by their master, they take refuge in some cavern, there to appease their hunger; the door is shut upon them; the master tells them they shall not escape, and unless they labour, they shall have neither food nor clothing. If they commit any fault, they are trampled in the dust, and miserably tormented.

From this account, slight and general indeed, but faithful as far as it proceeds, who would imagine himself conducted

to the *spiritual* world? Every thing is made present by poetical creation, and in some measure familiar to us; the persons, indeed, appear somewhat strange to us; not much more strange however than foreigners of our own hemisphere; and every thing seems natural, and not much unlike what we have commonly been accustomed to, saving that in heaven, it is more splendid and glowing than any of the objects, and scenes, and landscapes, which we witness on earth. Nothing reminds us of a *spiritual world*, but the perpetual recurrence of the words, and the constantly repeated assertion that, though the beings, and scenes, and substances are all such as we here behold, yet they are still spiritual. No sort of relative connexions between individuals and societies are unknown. Weddings have been witnessed by Swedenborg in heaven, and illicit love in hell. And though the union of the sexes in heaven is represented as consisting of the most pure and elevated affections, yet it is described in terms of such rapturous delight, and depending so entirely upon the distinctions of sex, that it seems to differ little from a virtuous and refined state of wedlock in this terrestrial world. In what then does the heaven of Swedenborg differ materially from the heavenly paradise of Mahomet? In the christian scriptures a cloud hangs over the future, which does not indeed destroy our curiosity, but which makes our hopes and our conceptions obscure and imperfect, as they ever must be, concerning a state of being we have never witnessed, and whence no traveller has returned. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be:' this however is the dead letter, and Swedenborg finds the internal sense to be—It doth *now* appear what we shall be. 'In heaven they are neither married nor given in marriage:' of this the internal sense is, that marriages are *frequent* in heaven, celebrated with splendour and enjoyed with rapture. It is not possible, we affirm, in our state of being, to conceive of such representations, without sensual images; without having a material world brought to view, newly decorated indeed, and tricked out with an ornate drapery worthy of a fabulous age; but essentially the same as that in which we now *live and move.*

Waving the difference of character between the two pretended prophets, and allowing that Swedenborg was self-deceived, and that Mahomet was a wicked impostor, which we think is doing justice to both; there appears to be no

essential difference in the evidence with which their revelations are accompanied. Mahomet, as well as Swedenborg, admitted the inspiration of Moses, and the authority of the Pentateuch, and of the prophetic writings; and also acknowledged the divine mission of Christ, and the truth of the christian scriptures. Mahomet claimed to be commissioned to purify these former dispensations from their corruptions, and as the last and greatest prophet, to communicate divine instruction to mankind. Swedenborg professed to be instructed from heaven to exalt what was low in our conceptions of the Jewish and Christian religions, and to unfold that which, though comprising their most valuable contents, was before unknown. Both think rather meanly of the miracles of Moses and of Christ. The Mahometan accounts the Koran itself as a perpetual miracle, and the greatest of miracles; the Swedenborgian esteems the inspiration discovered in the writings of his prophet, and the intercourse which he held with the spiritual world, too dignified to be placed in competition with the greatest miracles that were ever wrought.

The remarks made by Mr. White, in his Bampton Lectures, concerning Mahomet's representations of another life, apply with no material variation to Swedenborg's account of the spiritual world. 'He (Mahomet) generally descends to an unnecessary minuteness and particularity in his representations of another life, which excite disgust and ridicule, instead of reverence: and even his most animated descriptions of the joys of paradise, or the torments of hell, however strong and glowing the colours in which they are painted, are yet far inferior in point of true sublimity, and far less calculated to promote the interests of piety by raising the hopes and alarming the fears of rational beings, than that degree of obscurity in which the future life of the gospel is still involved, and those more general terms in which its promises and threatenings are proposed to mankind.'

One remark has forced itself upon us, in our examination of the writings of Swedenborg and his disciples, that they turn what is just enough as a rhetorical comparison into a proposition of logical truth. We have no objection to comparing the radiance of truth to the radiance of light, nor to likening the progress of the understanding to the progress of the horse. These figures of speech, though good taste forbids their being harped on, are extremely excusable, particularly in

young writers. The evil is to turn this into a foundation for grammatical interpretation, to say because truth is *like* the sun, that wherever the sun is mentioned in an ancient author, truth is meant; and that when he speaks of chariots and horses, he does not mean chariots and horses, but doctrines and tenets; and that what the honest reader had taken for a four legged animal is after all a great theological mystery. Moreover, if we may here waste an argument, this said doctrine of correspondences seems quite shallow and drawn up with very little skill. If every thing here has a correspondence with higher things, and the horse and chariots, the trees and rivers of this world mean doctrines, and science, and understanding, and good; what do the truth, and science, and good, which are here, correspond to? Because all these things to a certain degree exist, as well as horses and trees; and having assigned your spiritual ideas as correspondences to earthly chariots and horses, what have you left to correspond to earthly reason, judgment, conscience. For instance, in interpretation, let us grant that the 'chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof' has nothing to do with the miraculous event, which actually was taking place, or with a real vision, but refers to some mystical notions of doctrine and knowledge. What then will you do with 'every prudent man dealeth with knowledge;'* to what does that correspond? Or is the system timid and pusillanimous, seeking correspondences where they are convenient, and shrinking from a thorough work?

We have devoted more of our pages than we first intended, to a subject which some of our readers may think undeserving of so much attention. When we began our remarks, we were disposed to believe the doctrine of the New Jerusalem rather a harmless delusion, except as it regards those who profess to be, or expect to become, teachers of the christian religion; a harmless delusion, we mean, to the individual who embraces it, for we are far from admitting the innocency of error. Solitary instances there may be of persons of a peculiar temperament, who by superadding to the simple doctrines and plain moral precepts of Christ, a religion of the imagination, attain to a state of serenity, of cheerfulness, and of hope, amidst all the vicissitudes of this mortal life, far beyond what falls to the lot of most good christians. But we must be careful how we admit this as an argument; for

* Prov. xiii. 16.

such a religion is not far removed from one that consists in raptures, and ecstacies, and perpetual revelations, and borders on madness.

If, in the course of our remarks, there be any seeming want of courtesy towards the members of the New Jerusalem, or any disregard to their feelings, we can truly affirm that nothing of this kind was intended. We are happy in this place to declare, that we have known those of this communion (who are now beyond the reach of our praise or blame, but who, if living, we should be most loth to wound) in whom, we believe, resided spirits as pure, as amiable, and as exalted, as humanity admits. And we still know many of the same communion, who merit similar praise. Our prepossessions therefore in a great portion of individual examples have been in favour of the benign influence of this new doctrine, though we have never deemed them sufficiently numerous to establish a general conclusion.

In the little progress that this new doctrine has made in our country, and throughout the christian world, we perceive no occasion for alarm. If we have given an account sufficiently full and fair of what is peculiar to it, it must be evident, we think, that it is a religion suited to a few and a few only. Such vagaries, as make up a great part of the scheme, can never take possession of a well balanced mind; and so great is the demand which they make on our credulity, that the proselyting brethren of the new church generally begin their operations, by recommending to the inquirer such of the writings of Swedenborg, as are least likely to excite merriment or disgust. His expositions of the commonly received doctrines of christianity, in many cases, seem to us the most probable, and in many they appear very irrational and absurd. But, as we before remarked, it is what is peculiar in his views of religion that chiefly concerns us, and furnishes the true ground to try his exalted pretensions. If in this trial he is not found wanting, we must give up all title to sound judgment in weighing evidence, and with it all anxiety about the progress of error, superstition, and fanaticism; for if the understanding of all mystery and all knowledge is to be attained in dreams and visions only, who would not abstract himself from the world, and commune by day and by night with beings all pure, and perfect, and wise, in the world of spirits?

ART. VI.—1. *Reflexions Politiques sur quelques Ouvrages et Journaux Français concernant Hayti, par M. le Baron de Vastey, Secrétaire du Roi, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal et Militaire de Saint Henry, Précepteur de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Royale d' Hayti &c.* A Sans-Souci, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1817, 8vo. pp. xx. 206.

2. *Reflexions sur les Noirs et les Blancs &c. par le Baron de Vastey.* Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, Imprimeur du Roi, 1816, 8vo. pp. 112.

3. *Acte de l'Indépendance d'Hayti.* Au Cap-Henry, 4to.

4. *Code Henry.* Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, Imprimeur du Roi, 1812, 8vo. pp. 754.

5. *Gazette Royale d'Hayti.*

6. *Des Almanachs Royals d'Hayti,* 8vo.

7. *Des Ordonnances, Declarations, Proclamations, &c. du Roi d' Hayti.*

8. *Relation de la Fête de S. M. la Reine d' Hayti avec un Coup-d'œil Politique sur la Situation actuelle du Royaume d'Hayti.* Au Cap-Henry, chez P. Roux, Imprimeur du Roi, 1816, 8vo. pp 76.

9. *L'Entrée du Roi en sa Capitale, Opera Vaudeville, par M. le Comte de Rosiers.* A Sans-Souci, de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1818, 8vo, pp. 43. *C. Cushing*

SOME of these works have considerable intrinsic merit; and we have therefore resolved to place them before our readers, not only because they are little, if at all, known in this country, but also because they were written by the descendants of negroes, and by nobles of the late kingdom of Hayti. They will afford us a specimen of the literature of that singular nation, and some means of judging of the intellectual dignity, which a population of blacks may hope to reach, in the most favourable circumstances.

The writings of M. de Vastey, which consist of a chief part of the works at the head of this article and of a few pamphlets of less importance, are very favourable specimens of the native mental force of a Haytian. Self-educated, as are most of his countrymen of any distinction, struggling constantly for the first thirty years of his life against every thing which could damp or stifle a literary ambition, he has nevertheless acquired a respectable style, a correct knowledge of his language, and a store of information of considerable variety and

extent. The manner in which those of his nation, who possess any acquaintance with letters, obtained it, and they are by no means few, is feelingly described by himself in reply to some gross reproach of the late colonists.

The treatment of the slaves in St. Domingo is known to have been of the severest kind, and when the revolution broke out, they were in the most deplorable state that can be conceived; they knew nothing, hoped nothing, their apathy was so profound, their moral and physical faculties were so paralyzed by the weight of slavery. They looked not beyond the mere support of life, the bare vegetative existence of things rooted into the soil. From this abject condition they sprung up at once into the enjoyment of their faculties; an invincible love of freedom instantly transformed them into men; imperious necessity gave them writers to defend their cause, and soldiers who vanquished the best troops in the world: and in the brief intervals of repose from defeat and from forced marches, their leading characters snatched a moment for intellectual acquisitions, which afterwards assured to them independence and empire.

'It is but twenty five years since we were plunged in slavery and in the most complete ignorance; we had no idea of civil society, no conception of happiness, not a single strong sensation; our physical and moral faculties were so stupified by the weight of slavery, that I myself, who write this, believed the world ended with the scope of my vision; my thoughts were so confined that the simplest things were above my comprehension; and all my countrymen were as ignorant as myself, and if possible still more ignorant. I have been perfectly well acquainted with many who learned to read and write themselves, without instructers; they went about with books in their hands, interrogated those whom they met, and beseeched them to explain the signification of such a sign or such a word.' *Reflex. Pol.* p. 92, 93, *note.*

Out of such a state of things and in such a manner arose M. de Vastey. His colour* gave him some little advantage over pure blacks, during the continuance of the colonial government; but this advantage was brief and slight, and we may consider him as a person, who has escaped from the lowest moral and intellectual degradation, by the force of his own

* The Baron de Vastey is a yellow man, either a mulatto or mestizo; it has not been in our power to ascertain which.

powers and in opposition to the whole strength of unpropitious circumstances. If we criticise his writings with this point in view, we shall be compelled to think him a man of no common talents, nor deserving of mere common applause. Each of his works was composed to repel the reiterated attacks, and expose the still accumulating calumnies of the former planters. The first in order of time, and that with which our readers are probably best acquainted, is particularly designed to maintain the character of blacks, and assert their right to hope for approaching civilization, with passing reference to the revolution; the second to refute several of the most plausible misrepresentations made by foreign journalists and ex-colonial writers with regard to the present situation of the government, rights, and prospects of the kingdom of Hayti. An ardent spirit of patriotism runs through them, and gives them an animation and a zeal, which deeply fix the reader's attention. They teem with expressions of hatred against the late colonists, which, however, we cannot easily reprehend in the quarter from whence they proceed. The vehemence of a once oppressed, but now victorious soldier, the fire of an emancipated slave, the vigorous pride of a regenerate African are all wrought into the style of these pamphlets and amply atone for their few trifling defects in arrangement and composition. In examining the present intellectual character of the blacks and more especially of the people of Hayti, we shall make free use of the materials scattered through these and several other publications of the same nature in our possession, together with what light we have been able to procure from different sources of intelligence.

The slave-trade, which originated in a superstitious notion prevalent in the dark ages, that infidels were not entitled to the privileges of human beings, has been since perpetuated and defended by prejudices equally ridiculous with regard to the minds of the blacks, whom we are desired to believe incapable of elevation, order, and improvement. The generous self-devotion of modern philanthropists has gone far towards eradicating this opinion and abolishing the traffic connected with it; and it is well known to have been our own country and our own southern states that set the example to the world of the abolition of this disastrous traffic. Among the grounds on which it was defended, was an alleged natural inferiority of

intellect on the part of the blacks; and the difficulty was to point out a nation of this colour that had reached any tolerable degree of civilization. Such an example is given to the world in the case of the people of Hayti. We consider the single fact of their regeneration as decisive in favour of the blacks. Never was a servitude more complete, never was abasement more hopeless, never was ignorance more deplorable, than that of the slaves of Saint Domingo. France, in the madness of the revolution, proclaimed liberty through the colony, and at once conferred political rights on these miserable beings; but shortly repenting of her generosity, she tried to reduce them again to slavery, by force or fraud; and when she found they had not tasted the sweets of freedom in vain, she commenced that series of barbarities, which surpassed even her own reign of terror, and which will never be forgotten as the revolution of Saint Domingo. But the party prevailed, which deserved to prevail; for once poetic justice was done in this grand drama of life; the blacks fought on, through reverses and sufferings unrivalled, till they became independent, and not a single one of their old oppressors remained on the soil of Hayti. What revolution has the world ever beheld, that was comparable to this in the credit which it does to the aptitude and perseverance of its leaders? Other revolutions were conducted by men who were free, if not independent; who had before enjoyed the rights of men and knew how to prize them; who were comparatively speaking enlightened and civilized. But this was of a nature far more wonderful: its chiefs were just loosed from slavery; they were utterly destitute of any species of knowledge, which was to fit them to be soldiers, politicians or even subjects; their arms were at first nothing but stakes or wooden dirks, or iron hoops rudely fashioned into sabres; in their early battles they precipitated themselves in disorganized crowds upon the cannon of their enemies;* and they were opposed to the most acute and warlike nation of modern times, acting under every excitement of interest, pride, indignation and despair. Surely no more convincing argument in proof of the capacity of blacks could be required, than their achievement of such a revolution.

* They fought with heroical coolness and courage. Their blindness was such, that many of them dared to thrust their arms into the cannons, crying out to their comrades, *veni, veni, moi tins ben li*, &c. *Malenfant, Des Colonies, p.* 18.

A few extracts from the Baron de Vastey will show the sufferings of his countrymen to have been without any thing similar in revolutionary annals, and will justify us in the severe terms in which we have alluded to the colonists.

'We have seen our fellow-citizens, friends and relations, without distinction of age or sex, dragged to execution, some to be burnt at the stake, others to be exposed to birds of prey on gibbets; some thrown to the dogs to be devoured, others more fortunate perishing at the point of the dagger or bayonet. In places which the whites evacuated, thousands of the Haytians, who had fought in their ranks, were so credulous as to trust in their generosity; unwilling to abandon the whites in the extremity of their distress, they followed them to the vessels in which they embarked, taking with them their wives and children and the little property they had been able to save from pillage; but scarcely were they on board when they were loaded with chains and precipitated into the hold of the ship, there to suffer the most dreadful torments. Every night hundreds of them were brought on deck, bound together with cords and enclosed in large sacks with their babes, in which they were thrown into the sea after being stabbed through the sacks, as it otherwise some deity might interpose for their succor and preservation. At other times *republican marriages* were made like those of La Vendée, a man and woman being fastened together with chain-shot about their necks and thus thrown into the sea amid acclamations and cries of joy. Hundreds shut up in the holds of ships were stifled to death with burning sulphur. Day came to throw light upon the crimes of the night, and our shores, covered with the corpses of our friends, testified against the barbarity of the whites, and foretold us our own terrible destiny.'

After describing a scene, that he had witnessed, in which some of his countrymen were burned at the stake with circumstances of aggravated cruelty, he proceeds to make mention of a horrible species of torture employed by the ex-colonists, namely, delivering up their captives to be devoured alive by blood-hounds.

'The first time that men were devoured by dogs* was at the Cape in the convent of nuns and even in the house of general Boyer!'—'Afterwards the theatre of this scene of horrors was

* A pack of blood-hounds was procured for this purpose from Cuba. Quarterly Rev. xxi, 448. The blacks were hunted down with these dogs, as the native inhabitants of the Antilles were by the Spaniards.

changed to the Haut-du-Cap, on the plantation Charrier. Here the dogs were conducted, and in order to give them a relish for it, they were from time to time fed with human flesh. Many days beforehand, they were kept without food so as to stimulate their hunger, and occasionally a victim was presented to them and withdrawn as soon as they were ready to rush and seize him; and when the day arrived in which prisoners were to be delivered to the dogs, the victims were bound to posts to prevent their defending themselves, the commissaries being present, clothed in their municipal scarfs and military uniform. The dogs were then let loose to rush upon their prey; while the whites excited them on: and when the dogs were weary and sated with blood, their masters were compelled to finish the work of death with their poniards.'

Having noticed the perfidious treatment which Toussaint is well known to have experienced, our author repeats other facts of the same nature.

'Generals J. Maurepas and C. Bélair were executed; Maurepas* being nailed alive to the mainmast of the ship Annibal, in presence of his wife and children, and afterwards thrown into the sea with his whole family; Bélair was shot with his wife, this heroine exhorting him to imitate her and die courageously.† Thomany, Domage, Lamahotière, a crowd of officers and citizens of rank were hung like convicts: those who escaped the dagger and the gibbet died by poison, as did the generals Vilatte, Léveillé and Gaulard: and many more were transported to the Main to be sold for slaves, or to France to finish their career in the galleys.'—*Reflex. Sur les Noirs and les Blancs, p.* 95—103.

All these are notorious facts unquestioned and unquestionable. The revolution is full of such enormities. Both sides contended with a revengeful hatred, a personal animosity that was terrible in its consequences. The planters fought with all the desperate rage of men, who had long exercised unrestrained tyranny over their antagonists, and who felt

* A pair of epaulettes was nailed upon his shoulders and a military hat upon his head with iron spikes.

† The history of the revolution contains another instance of female courage equally heroical. The black general Charles Chevalier was condemned to be hung; and his wife, perceiving that he exhibited signs of weakness, sprung to the cord and hung herself before him, crying out: What! do you not know how to die for liberty? *Malenfant, Des Colonies, p.* 103, *note.*

that wealth, power, vengeance would be gained by victory and lost by defeat; the liberated slaves, on the other hand, solemnly swore never again to submit to the cruelties of their former masters, but rather to shed every drop of blood in their veins, nay to die a thousand deaths. 'What wait ye for? said one of the noblest of these slaves to his compatriots.* Why do you not appease the spirits of your slaughtered brothers, sisters, children, wives? Remember that you will hereafter desire to sleep with their remains: will you descend into their tombs before you have avenged their wrongs? No: if you should dare to be so base, their bones would repulse yours with contempt or shrink from them with horror.' Exhortations, such as this, must be maddening; they must produce a struggle unequalled by any thing else which history records.

France has never ceased to long for the restoration of her colonial dominions. She has sown faction and discord among the chiefs of Hayti; tampered with the people; resorted to every stratagem and every artifice to effect her ends. Her emissaries betrayed the generous and noble-minded Toussaint-Louverture to chains, transportation, imprisonment and death; they assassinated the brave emperor Dessalines; and they have been incessantly plotting the destruction of president Pétion and of king Henry, by stirring up their followers against each other and breeding civil wars in the bosom of Hayti. But these exertions have proved unavailing. One ephemeral government has passed away and a second has followed it, and others more firm and stable have arisen out of the ruins of their predecessors to share their fate, and a new one is just entering upon the stage; but Hayti, notwithstanding her divided and fluctuating governments, continues and probably will ever continue independent.

But, notwithstanding the character, which the blacks in Hayti must be allowed to have gained themselves, for physical hardihood, for independence of spirit and for zeal in the defence of their liberty, the advocates of the doctrines of their inferiority may still insist on their intellectual debility, and declare, that although the mere bodily strength and animal bravery of the blacks, aided by what the blacks themselves have been accustomed to denominate their avenging

* *Acte de l'Independence d'Hayti.*

climate,* may have given them independence, still they have not the wisdom, the knowledge, the force of mind required to perpetuate their national being and embellish it with literature, science, and civilization. Let us see if the history of Hayti does not overthrow this hypothesis. We feel confident that a review of the policy of that part of the nation, which constituted the late kingdom, and which, from the nature of its government as well as from the character of its rulers, hitherto has attracted more notice and actually done more that deserves attention than the rest of the island, will prove that a people of blacks are able to preserve that independence by their wisdom, which they had acquired by their resolution and perseverance.

A nation, which has attained considerable refinement, which is tranquil within and threatened by nothing but ordinary dangers from abroad, can enjoy a free and republican government; but when a country has been plunged for two centuries in the lowest degradation, when its inhabitants have been sunk below the level of ordinary political oppression, and when, although exalted to the rank of a nation, it has continued to be harassed by restless and able enemies,—in such a country, the firm hand of kingly power is needed to stifle faction, repel aggressors, and give energy, despatch, and secrecy to the public measures. It is impossible, therefore, not to praise the design which established a monarchy in Hayti, strengthened the king by the grant of adequate power and endowed him with revenues and military forces for his defence against foreign and domestic assailants. The recent death of the king has, it is true, been followed by a revolution in the government; but, as we shall take occasion to remark hereafter, this circumstance neither proves that the king was bad, nor that a monarchical government was ineligible in Hayti. The government was then, is now, and must be for a long time to come, a military despotism. Little does it matter, indeed, what is the form of a government, if it be sagely conducted, and its only aim be the public happiness and peace; but in no case whatever can there be freedom in the government, until there is a free people on whose foundation to build up that government. Hayti, we doubt not, enjoyed more prosperity under the sceptre of an absolute

* *Acte de l'Independence d'Hayti.*

king, than she could ever have hoped for from republican institutions.

Whatever ridicule we may attach to the notion of a black arrayed in the splendors of royalty, or decorated with orders of knighthood, or wearing the robes and coronets of nobility, we must hold it, particularly in all European countries, to be a ridicule highly misplaced. A nobility was the natural and proper consequence of the monarchical form of government, and was desirable to give it stability, finish, and strength. The court of king Henry was chiefly composed of military men of distinction, who had been ennobled or knighted for their merit alone; and we have no doubt that they might advantageously compare in politeness of manners and general intelligence with the best society in the colony previous to the revolution. The king himself was a man of fine features, noble presence, and accomplished manners,* who exhibited unequivocal marks of talents of the very first order, in elevating himself from the meanest station of a black to royal and unlimited power, in defending his realm through civil and foreign warfare, in establishing the prosperity of his country and in securing the good will of his people, who regarded him as an affectionate father† and revered him as a potent monarch. Foreign merchants and officers, as well as natives of Hayti, have uniformly borne testimony to the courage, military skill, humanity and benevolence of Henry. The mulattoes in the south, indeed, always reviled his measures; and since his death, many general assertions of his cruel disposition have gone the round of the public journals; but it is enough that no shadow of a proof exists in support of these foul and unauthorized aspersions on the character of the deceased monarch.‡ His authority, although despotic, was

* English officers, who have seen king Henry, have repeatedly noticed his resemblance in features and appearance to the late king George III. *Blackwood's Magazine; Quarterly Review.*

† The lower classes, in speaking of him, almost universally employed the words *bon papa à nous*, that is *notre bon père.*

‡ Our favourable opinion of the late king was derived from persons who had the means of judging for themselves on the spot, and is contradicted by no facts in any of the histories of the revolution. Lest we should be thought singular in this opinion we will subjoin two extracts of a similar import, one from the Quarterly Review for April 1819, and another from the British Review for March 1820.

'His military talents were very respectable, and his courage unshaken; his disposition humane and benevolent. In the exercise of all the social

exercised with discretion and promptly obeyed. When the magazines a year or two since were fired and burned, by means of a stroke of lightning, all classes of men without distinction were instantly put in requisition for the purpose of repairing the damage, and with few exceptions readily marched out of Cape-Henry with drums beating and colours flying to labour on the works of Sans-Souci. Such a fact proves the subordination of the people and the strength of the government, in a manner the most indubitable. The king had ministers, of course, but he still was his own counsellor and personally judged of the correctness of his servants' administration. Thus every paper, every official report, all public documents were actually examined by him, so that no treasonable attempt could escape his knowledge, no fraud or act of oppression be concealed from his cognizance. It may be mentioned also, as illustrating his policy and showing the channel in which the measures of a strong government instinctively run, that almost all the specie, which entered the kingdom, finally reached the royal coffers; for a large proportion of the customs and taxes were required in money, and its exportation was strictly and effectually prohibited. Another curious indication of his views may be seen in the fact, that the court-dresses, fêtes, and other expenses of that nature were so designed as to consume much of the superfluous revenues of the noblemen, and thereby prevent their entertaining projects inimical to the peace of the kingdom. All these anecdotes betoken a suspicious government, and one gratuitously jealous; and can we reasonably expect less, considering the peril, to which the government was constantly exposed,

social virtues he has been eminently distinguished; he is a good husband, a good father, a steady friend, and strict in the observance of all the duties of religion and morality. Contrary to the common custom among his black countrymen, he attached himself in early life to one woman, whom he never forsook; and that woman is now queen of Hayti, beloved by all ranks and conditions.'

'During the struggle for independence, he displayed great bravery and military skill, and his disposition was then, and is now, generally considered to be both humane and benevolent. The republican inhabitants, however, of Hayti represent him as a severe and sanguinary tyrant, and in their journals and other writings usually call him another Phalaris. But those, who have resided under his government, unanimously give him the character of being a good husband and a good father, affable in private life, and observant of the duties of morality and of the offices of religion;—qualities which are utterly irreconcileable with the cruelties charged upon him by his enemies.'

both from civil wars and from the insidious measures adopted by the court of France? But such details prove, beyond a doubt, the talents of the king to have been far above those of ordinary white monarchs. Nor are we quite sure that there is a king alive, who has shown himself half so worthy to wear a diadem, as the late sovereign of Hayti.

The compilation of the Code-Henry was an act of equal wisdom with the establishment of royalty in Hayti. The whole island was before governed by the colonial laws, by those tyrannical institutions, which originally caused the wretchedness and excited the revolution of Hayti. Emancipated slaves would have acquired only partial independence, if they had set down contentedly under the laws of their masters. It was requisite that a new code should be drawn up and enacted, applicable to the situation of the country and capable of securing the regular administration of justice. Such a system is the Code-Henry. Could a nation of whites have exhibited more prudence and wisdom in a similar situation? However imperfectly these laws may have been executed, their very existence proves the judgment of the Haytians. Even if the military power of the monarch did sometimes predominate over the laws, this is no more than was inevitable in a kingdom where a revolution was just subsiding and which had barely reached independence. But the truth is, that justice has been regularly and effectively administered with general reference to the Code-Henry.

The political situation of Hayti with respect to foreign nations likewise strongly testified in favour of the people and government. Content and happy to live in peace, satisfied with their lot, they felt no desire to disturb the tranquillity of their neighbours.* Throwing open their ports to the ships of every nation but that which bears one interdicted flag, they required of foreigners only that they would abstain from officiously meddling with the political and interior affairs of the kingdom. Circumspect, active and severe, suspicious from the dear bought experience they had received, they were so conscious of their present happiness that they did every thing cheerfully which could tend to make it perpetual; and therefore as the state of the country required that the

* Let not us, said they in the declaration of independence, like revolutionary beacon-fires, standing up as legislators of the Western Islands, make our glory to consist in disturbing their tranquillity.

police should be strict and the government strong-armed, they were so from the free choice and inclination of the people. One of the earliest acts of the government was to fix on a system of financial administration, which should support and uphold the monarchy. The revenue of the king was employed in constructing citadels, fortresses and arsenals; in preparing artillery, ammunition and provisions for future emergencies; and in keeping under arms, clothing and maintaining a numerous body of troops of the line. The distrust, with which the situation of the country required that foreigners should be treated, deprived them of the means of ascertaining the true defensive force of the kingdom. But it was known that cannon, saltpetre and gunpowder were manufactured in the island; fortresses were erected in all parts of the sea-board and interior, some of which are reputed impregnable, especially the citadel and works at Sans-Souci; and the king was said to keep constantly in pay a standing army of fifty thousand men,* and to support a militia still more considerable. The king was fully seconded by his subjects. Not a man lay down to rest, who was not ready to wake with arms in his hands for the defence of his freedom. These at least are tokens of intellectual vigor, of a determination to be forever independent. Nor is it strange that martial law should have seemed to prevail in a kingdom, which was in constant apprehension of being assailed by the most deadly foes, and which was incessantly menaced with total extermination.

'Indeed it is difficult and almost impossible to make the laws reign, when a whole people is menaced by a cruel and barbarous foe with extermination; and when all are in arms for the defence of their homes, their liberty and their independence. Then the best regulated government inevitably tends to become arbitrary; the police grows more suspicious, more active, and more severe; the ordinary course of affairs is interrupted; every thing suffers, every thing is changed; persons and property are harassed with requisitions; a universal movement is imparted to the nation.—Soldiers, merchants, manufacturers and husbandmen, men and women, young and old, even the strangers who reside in our cities, are more or less affected by this state of violence; the government unconsciously clashes with the laws; it knows and laments

* Lacroix however estimates the regular army at only 25,800 men. *Mémoires pour servir à l' histoire de la Revolution de St. Domingue.*

it, but in this cruel necessity public safety is the supreme law.—As soon as this situation is diminished, the laws resume their empire; order and security are restored; each one returns to his accustomed labors, though without being lulled asleep by the seeming peace, but always keeping his eyes open on that object which concerns him most, the preservation of his rights, liberty and independence.'*—*Reflex. Pol.* 74, 75.

With respect to the quality of their troops, perhaps there is not a country on earth which can produce an army in finer discipline, in more complete order, more brave, resolute, hardy, and faithful, than the troops of Hayti. The muscular strength of negroes, their capacity for supporting long-continued privations, their patience under hunger, thirst, fatigue and exposure, their adaptation to tropical climates, all render them superior to whites in their power of enduring the hardships of military service. When to these natural advantages of body and mind is added a knowledge of all the arts of modern warfare, exact subordination and regular exercise, the blacks become eminently powerful. No picked men that we can rank together, no splendor of uniform, can equal the appearance of their sinewy limbs, their dark features, their bright eyes and teeth, contrasted and set off against each other; and if we should be required to point out any troops in the world, which exhibited an aspect the most fearful and warlike, the best fitted to strike terror into the heart of an enemy, in short the most military, we should feel no hesitation in fixing upon a well-disciplined array of free able-bodied negroes. These circumstances being combined, we think ourselves justified in assigning the preference over all others to the black troops and especially the late royal *dahomets* of Hayti. That they produce able officers can any one doubt, who considers their victories over the best troops of Spain, of the Republic, and of Bonaparte, and who recollects the names of Vernet, Clervaux, Toussaint-Louverture, J. J. Dessalines, Petion, Christophe and Boyer?

Hayti has indicated more intellectual power in her military affairs, than elsewhere, because every thing has long compelled her to make war an object of almost undivided atten-

* Cape-Henry could not be defended in case of an invasion; and therefore every house holder is prepared with torches, so that in half an hour the blacks could wrap in flames a city quite as populous and twice as large as Boston.

tion. Still menaced by the ex-colonists, exposed on her southern frontier, and unsettled in her interior provinces, an immense number of her inhabitants has been constantly withdrawn from the mechanical pursuits of peace, from agriculture, commerce and manufactures, both to recruit her armies and engage in the labor of erecting fortresses, transporting munitions of war, and otherwise aiding in the defence of the kingdom. They have nevertheless made a respectable advancement in the useful arts, particularly in those arts which are subservient to the purposes of war and agriculture. For the nation is a nation of warriors and husbandmen; the people go from the plough to the field of battle, and thence back again to the pursuits of agriculture; and almost every man past the middle age can show honorable scars in evidence of his bravery during the revolution. In military tactics, in engineering, in fortification, in cannon-foundry, in the manufacture of powder, bombs and arms, they are as expert as any whites could ever have been in the same circumstances. Leclerc had under his command many of the first military men of France; and the people of Hayti, by serving under or against him and receiving instructions from his officers, have acquired a portion of the proficiency in the art of war, which had been attained at that period by the Republic. Printing-presses have been erected; and their execution is such, that the books now before us might compare with some of the better publications in our country for beauty of type and paper, as well as correctness. In all the lesser manufactures, in those arts which are constantly required in the common affairs of life, the people have skill enough to supply most of their own ordinary wants, and in some few things they have reached considerable perfection. Commerce they have none, except what is carried on at home for the sale of their produce to foreigners or the purchase of articles in exchange;* and here they exhibit adequate intelligence and fairness. But it is in agriculture that the blacks have done most for the perfection of the peaceful arts. The land, it is true, is so rich and fertile, and the climate is so propitious, that little cultivation is requisite; and therefore while the state of the country re-

* This commerce is conducted very much by barter, as the country has not been quiet long enough to produce an abundance of specie.

mains unsettled and the population thin* and called away to different pursuits, we cannot expect that much refinement of agriculture will be bestowed on the plantations. Indeed some of the best of them are still but half-tenanted; so that immense quantities of coffee have sprung up spontaneously every year and perished on the stalks, even when the demand for it has been greatest, through want of hands to gather it in for the market. Still the art of agriculture was never in so respectable a state as it has been since the revolution. The colonial system was execrable. The planters knew little of the use of machines, and in fact employed no labor but that of slaves, who were therefore in full and constant requisition. Nothing was raised which could interfere with the produce of the metropolis, no wine, oil, grain, nor any other of the staples of France. Indigo, coffee, sugar, cotton and cocoa were almost the sole articles of cultivation in the colony. But now the face of things is entirely changed: mechanical arts and animals diminish the sum of human labour; and experiments are making in order to introduce the general culture of corn, vines and other plants, adapted to the climate and wants of the present inhabitants. Potatoes are planted with success; *bananeries* are established on all the considerable farms; grain and articles of food of every description are raised in many parts of the island; and rapid advances are making toward an improved state of agriculture.

It has been said, that the lower class of people were bondsmen or serfs, that they were bought and sold with the land on which they dwelt, and that in short a species of mitigated slavery still prevailed in Hayti. But the fact is, we speak of the kingdom alone, that all classes of men, from the noble to the husbandman, are properly and strictly speaking free. As with all undertenants on extensive states a change of the principal owner is made without asking the consent of those who cultivate the land; and therefore the transfer of a plantation might in this view be considered a transfer of the labourers upon it, because it transfers their chosen residence. But the proprietors cannot by their own power remove a cultivator from plantation to plantation; the quantity, kinds, and seasons of labour are fixed by law; the labourers are hired by the proprietors, and receive as wages a regular

* The black population of Hayti was estimated at 700,000 in the year 1789; and has probably increased somewhat since that time.

allotment of one quarter of the gross produce of the land, on which they live, for their own exclusive use and undisturbed enjoyment.*

One other circumstance connected with agriculture will be noticed, both on account of the loud outcries which have been made against the measure, and on account of the beneficial effects it must have on the prosperity of Hayti. We refer to the confiscation and sale of the property of ex-colonists.—This act the planters have loaded with reproach, declaring that it was contrary to every law, divine or human, natural or conventional, and contrasting it with what this country did after its independence was acknowledged. Did not the work before us furnish the evidence of it, we could not have believed in the existence of so absurd a claim. When the planters have formally acknowledged the real independence of Hayti, and have relinquished their pretence to be restored to the rank of unlimited masters over men who are now free as themselves, they may then appeal to the noble conduct of the United States.

'The people of Hayti,' observes de Vastey, 'are placed in a situation altogether different. They were blacks and slaves, without country, without property, despoiled of their rights, natural, civil and political; they were what is called dead in law; they dwelt on the soil as if they dwelt not; they lived as if they lived not; the colonists possessed over them the barbarous right of life and death; without support or protection, treated like the vilest animals and abandoned by all nature, they have fought and shed torrents of blood to conquer for themselves a country, an asylum, life and freedom.—to vindicate their sacred and imprescriptible rights, which odious tyrants had once ravished from them and were endeavouring to ravish again! What relations of good-will and of magnanimity can exist between us and the ex-colonists? We were deprived of every thing, we possessed nothing, we were nothing, we were accounted nothing; but we have gained every thing from these vampire-, country, liberty, property and independence. We possess nothing which is not our own; we then owe them nothing, and we have nothing to give up or restore.—

* The laws on this head may be seen in the Code Henry, *loi concernant la culture*, especially titles 1 and 4. From this remark, as well as from others we have made, the curious fact is apparent, that the blacks unconsciously established a pure feudal monarchy in Hayti. The nobles were military men rewarded with titles and lands, for which specific services and rents were due; and the commoners were mostly undertenants on the lands of the nobility.

They were the first to put us out of the circle of social relations, and we may in return exclude them without scruple and with greater justice; they have incurred the same conditions which they desired to impose; if they had been victorious, we should have been killed or enslaved, we should have had nothing and demanded nothing; they have been vanquished and there is nothing for them to receive or demand.—*Reflex. Pol. p.* 49, 51.

No man of course but a colonist can seriously think the king of Hayti was under the least obligations to restore the lands of the planters, or even pay them an equivalent; since one expedient would have introduced the planters into the heart of the country, and the second must have totally impoverished the kingdom. The sequestration of this property has been of the greatest utility. The king made easy sales* and leases of the lands, and thus, by parcelling many of them out among small proprietors, gave his subjects the possessions as well as rank of freemen. Nothing is ever more beneficial to a country, better calculated to give durability to its institutions and more conducive to the general happiness of its inhabitants, than estates in the hands of small freeholders. We therefore find as much to praise in the use which the king made of these lands as in the act of sequestration.

We need not here repeat what we have said before on the moral degradation of the slaves under the colonial order of things. Suffice it now to inquire how far they have risen from that degradation, and what the late king did for the civilization of Hayti. Every successive government in the island has been deeply sensible of the state of abasement in which the nation was sunk, and has constantly endeavoured to redeem its subjects from that state by holding forth encouragements to marry, and by patronising every thing which tended to produce a refinement of manners. The habit of military service has given the people a disposition for subordination and order, which the strictness of the public police has confirmed. Still it is to be confessed that the morals of the Haytians are lax, and must continue so till they can gradually recover from the baneful effects of servitude.

* Fifteen years were allowed for the discharge of the debt in yearly payments at the rate of the fourth of the gross annual produce of *cotonneries, caféteries, sucreries,* &c. and the twentieth of the first price of a house, until the whole demand is satisfied: the property itself being held as security for the final payment of all the purchase-money.

Since the regeneration of Hayti the manners and social habits of the people have been continually growing better, and we may hope that before long they will have wiped away all the disgraceful stains contracted in a life of bondage.—The noble exertions of the king were most instrumental in producing this effect. Military hospitals were erected by him and were well supported. Religious service was regularly performed in the capital, at which the court and most respectable people attended; but the king was so wise as to make no distinctions between different sects; and catholicism was known to be the religion of the government, only because it was generally professed by the court, and not through any pains or disabilities inflicted or even discountenance thrown upon protestants. An archbishop and three bishops, each with chapters, seminaries and colleges attached to his diocess, and a rector in every parish, constituted the ecclesiastical establishment. The proprietors of plantations were obliged to have prayers read to the laborers every night; and to invite them to attend the religious service in the parish on the several festivals. The king created a board of education consisting of some of his most patriotic and enlightened subjects, and entrusted it with the direction of the national education, the choice of books and instructers, and every thing which regards this branch of public administration.—Under the superintendence of this board colleges and national schools were established, in which the professors and instructers were honorably paid by the government.

National schools existed in all the principal cities, on that system of mutual instruction, which has been carried to so high a degree of perfection in England, and is gradually advancing throughout Europe and America. In these schools children were instructed in the same manner and with the same success as among whites; their proficiency was respectable in all departments and what is remarkable the children actually felt a sense of gratefulness towards their teachers and exhibited an alacrity in learning, which forcibly remind us of the pupils of Sicard and Leclerc. The artifices of the late colonists have been the cause of such serious evils to the people of Hayti and the practice of them has been so much facilitated by the use of the French of language, that the king resolved to exterminate it from his dominions. He made such a choice of the language to be substituted as we should antici-

pate from his high character. He could not hesitate in adopting that language, which now possesses a literature unrivalled by the proudest in ancient or modern times, which is making rapid strides to a diffusion almost universal, and which is spoken in the first instance by two nations of which one is the noblest in the old and the other the noblest in the new world. He could not hesitate in adopting the language of that people, which has effected at least the partial abolition of the slave-trade, and which, however superannuated and oppressive in many of its institutions, is more liberal than either of its cotemporaries on the continent of Europe. He could not hesitate in adopting the language of England. The language of the better classes in Hayti is pretty correct, at least as correct as was spoken in the island before the revolution; but the middle and lower classes speak a most corrupt and barbarous dialect, whose substance indeed is French, encumbered by confused admixtures of English, Spanish and the native languages of the slaves from Africa. This jargon is always aided in conversation by numberless contortions and gestures, grimaces and interjections, and without them loses half its significancy.* It can never be possible to convert

* The comedy of the count de Rosiers, contains many curious specimens of the creole dialect, some of which we subjoin with a collateral translation.

Dinpis Valentin apres trotté dans tête à moé, mo dire adieu sommeil, adieu repos, adieu toute l'aute qui chose dans monde. Mais qui fête pour nous toutes. Cé jordi papa nous va rivé, tout monde va présenté li bouquet à li, ma bali quienne à moé bon cœur.

Dire moé donc; io dire nous bon papa à nous va rivé.

Cé chanté comme gnoun ange; et pour la peine à toé, mo va rende toé ça q' moté prends toé.

Mo ta voudré io déjà passé, tant cœur à moé té va content.

Malgré toute monde après craire moé ce gnoun bête, à cause mo pas gagné gnoun bouche qui douce, ni gnoun langue qui dorée, ça pas empêché mo trouvé dans tête à moé gnoun pitit compliment capabe, &c.

Depuis que Valentin a trotté dans ma tête, je dis adieu sommeil, adieu repos, adieu toutes les autres choses dans le monde. Mais quelle fête pour nous tous. Ce jour-ci notre papa va arriver, tout le monde va le presenter son bouquet, je lui donnerai le mien avec bon cœur.

Dites-moi donc; ils nous disent que notre bon papa va arriver.

C'est chanté comme un ange, et pour votre peine je vous rendrai ce que j'aurois pris de toi.

Je voudrai qu'ils avaient déjà passé, autant mon cœur en seroit content.

Quoique tout le monde ait cru que j'etois une bête, parceque je n'ai pas une bouche douce, ni une langue dorée, cela n' empêche pas que je trouverois dans ma tête un petit compliment capable, &c.

this into a perfectly correct language of any sort; but at the date of our intelligence instructers for the national schools had been procured in England by the king of Hayti; and their scholars had made such considerable progress in their new language, that there was good reason to believe their efforts would finally succeed in giving it currency among educated people and of course making it the vernacular language of the kingdom.

Now we consider all this to be proof, which cannot be set aside or evaded, of the capacity of blacks for improvement; for however imperfect might be the national schools and colleges, the mere establishment of such institutions indicated good sense in the people; and when we look farther, and find these institutions in a considerable degree successful and gradually spreading themselves over the kingdom, we must be blinded with prejudice if we do not confess them to be tokens of approaching civilization in Hayti. Franklins and Washingtons indeed she may not yet have produced; 'et quand même que nous n'avons pas eu des Franklin et des Washington,' says M. de Vastey, 'est-il raisonnable d'exiger que des hommes qui étaient courbés sous le poids de l'ignorance and de l'esclavage, à qui même on refusait de l'intellect, eussent tout-à-coup des Franklin et des Washington?'

This is a fair representation of the language universally spoken by the lower classes in Hayti. We perceive here the difficulty the blacks found in pronouncing the letter *u*, as instead of *un* and *une* they say *gnoun*. We perceive also for *je* and *ils* the strange pronouns *mo* and *io*, which the slaves perhaps brought from their native land. They seem unable to sound the letters *l* and *r* well, as they say *aute*, *rende*, *capabe* for *autre*, *rendre*, *capable*. They likewise drop the adjective pronouns *mon*, *vos*, *notre*, &c making use instead of *à moi*, *à vous*, *à nous* They confound the genders, of course But the most remarkable thing is the conjugation of verbs, of which it appears they take some tense, true or corrupt, and modify that tense throughout by means of auxiliary prefixes or particles. Thus *va rivé* means *est arrivé*; *mo ta voudré*, *je voudrai*; *io dire*, *ils dissent*; *dire-moé*, *ditez-moi*, &c. Thus too in the verb *avoir* they say *mo gagné*, *li gagné*, *nous gagné*, *ou gagné*, *io gagné*; *mo apres gagné*; *mo va gagné*; *mo té gagné*; instead *j'ai*, *tu as*, &c. *j'avois* or *j'ai eu*, *j'aurai*, &c. It was by the same process that ancient verbs, in passing through the lips of barbarians, became simplified of their terminal inflexions. Those who feel any curiosity with regard to this dialect may find a copious vocabulary and several dialogues at the end of Ducœurjoli's *Manuel des Habitans de St. Domingue.*

With one more quotation we take our leave of M. de Vastey.

'We call to witness the strangers who frequent our ports, and have visited the interior of the kingdom, whether we are not constituted and organized like the civilized nations of Europe. Have we not a stable monarchy, a constitutional charter, institutions and laws? Is not justice administered with integrity? Our numerous and warlike armies, are they not as well disciplined as the first troops in the world? Have we not erected impregnable fortresses according to all the rules of art, in places almost inaccessible, where obstacles were to be surmounted with labors worthy the majesty of Rome? Have we not built palaces and public edifices, which do honor to our country and excite the applause of strangers? Have we not manufactories of powder and saltpetre? Is not the mass of our population entirely devoted to commerce and agriculture? Has not our country, although still in its infancy, produced writers and poets to celebrate its name? In short, experience has proved to the world that we, as well as whites, had an aptitude for the sciences and arts, by the immense progress we have made in civilization. Examine the history of the human race, and no where will you meet with such a prodigy. Let the foes of the blacks produce a single instance of a people, which has been in a situation like ours, and which has done more in the short period of a quarter of a century. The people of Hayti has not only acquired immortal rights to the admiration of the universe and of posterity, but it has acquired still more distinguished glory by having raised itself from the depths of ignorance and servitude to its present height of eminence and prosperity.'—*Reflex. Sur les Noirs et les Blancs, p.* 83, 85.

We should regret being mistaken for indiscriminate eulogists or even in any sense admirers of Hayti. She still bears the stigmas of her recent degradation. We know that her inhabitants have acquired but few of the virtues or comforts of refinement. Her sanguinary civil wars, the jealous temper of her government, the licentiousness of her popular morals, we know and lament as badges of former servitude, which time alone can enable her to throw off, and as wounds in the public frame, which nothing but the benignant influences of prosperity long-continued can heal.

The preceding remarks were chiefly written and ready for the press, when intelligence arrived of the late revolution in Hayti. We thought it necessary to make but few, and those for the most part verbal, alterations in consequence; be-

cause the death of the king and subsequent changes in the government have not, as we conceive, in any wise impaired the force of our arguments in support of the moral and intellectual character of negroes.

The anonymous and indirect reports, which are now current with regard to the situation of affairs in Hayti, accord so little with what we know to have been the fact a year or two since, that we think they ought to be received with caution, if not with suspicion. The dissolution of the monarchy, in consequence of the sickness, confinement, and death of the king, is no proof of the cruelty of his reign; because, as we have seen, his authority grew entirely out of his personal character and was maintained solely by his personal exertions; and when his mind and body were weakened by disease it is not wonderful that his enemies in the south improved such a favourable opportunity for tampering with his troops and seducing them from their allegiance.

Without making any pretensions to political sagacity, we are fully persuaded that the royalists will never peaceably continue under the rule of their new masters. The total difference in their past modes of life, of education, and of government, is a powerful obstacle to the consolidation of the blacks and mulattoes under a republican chief; but a more insurmountable impediment is the hatred which the two casts have generally entertained for each other since the very beginning of their struggle for independence.

We believe the blacks will have little reason to exult in their defection from the king, if they do not already lament it. The government of Pétion and of Boyer, as well as that of Henry, was always in its essence arbitrary. Pétion, who was partly educated in France, affected to imitate the revolutionary government of that country; but the president of the revolted colony, like the first consul of the metropolis, was possessed of absolute power. And it is a matter of little moment to the subject whether the government, he lives under, is monarchical, that is, consisting of a single individual at the head of the state and armies, or aristocratical, that is, consisting of a single individual aided and controled by a council of his chief officers: the government is, in both cases, a pure military despotism.

How far the laws and institutions of king Henry will be suffered to remain at Hayti, it does not yet appear; but if

the republican government should be permanently established throughout the island, we fear it will be the means of checking the internal improvement of the country: for the manners of the republicans have always been more lax than those of the royalists; they have been more insubordinate; they have had less experience of the salutary effect of sage and efficient laws; and above all they have appeared less anxious to diffuse the blessing of education by the liberal endowment of schools, colleges, and other seminaries of instruction. Whatever may be the fate of the island, it must continue to be an object of increasing interest to the citizens of the United States.

ART. VII.—*Geological Essays; or an Inquiry into some of the Geological Phenomena to be found in various parts of America, and elsewhere. By Horace H. Hayden, Esquire.* Baltimore, J. Robinson, 8vo. pp. 412. 1820.

IN the department of natural history, and particularly in the interesting branches of geology and mineralogy, the researches of Americans, if we do not deceive ourselves, have been as profound, and their progress as honourable to the skill and diligence with which these researches have been made, as those of the students of any other country. The numerous and splendid private cabinets, which are to be found in almost every state in the union, displaying not less taste than labour in the selection and arrangement, and the intimate acquaintance of their respective owners with the characters of the various specimens, will sufficiently attest the truth of our assertion. But, until within a few years past, each individual seemed content with the mere possession of this knowledge, without the desire of imparting it to others, or the ambition to be known to the world, as its possessor. The successful labours of Professors Cleaveland and Silliman, of Dr. Bruce, and a few others, have eminently tended, not only to diffuse a spirit of inquiry through our country, and to awaken a fondness for scientific research, but above all to remove that timidity, which has been the chief obstacle to the publication of works of science on the part of our countrymen. The adoption of Professor Cleaveland's elementary treatise, by most of the mineralogical schools of

Germany, where the votaries of natural science have been always numerous and ardent, has been not more honourable to the author, than it will prove, we trust, advantageous to his countrymen. It is at once the noblest reward that he could have received, and the strongest incitement which could have been offered to them. They need no longer withhold from the public the results of their researches, under the fear that they can disclose nothing new. The study of nature can never be exhausted: the various aspects, under which it presents itself, in various countries, and at various times, must always offer to the accurate observer, at every new examination, some fact, some phenomenon, not before known; and this must always give to the naturalists of this new world a claim to the respect of those of the old. We are anxious to enforce this truth upon our countrymen, and we repeat, that they have a right to claim a higher rank among the philosophers of the earth, than they have been, hitherto, content to hold.

It has been very justly observed by Cuvier, that the ancient history of the globe is one of the most curious subjects that can engage the attention of enlightened men. But it may be doubted, whether, were it even possible to rend the veil which conceals from our view the 'mechanism of the universe,' the human race would gain any thing by the discovery, more than the mere gratification of curiosity. We may admire the genius and the boldness of those who attempt to scan the mysterious operations of Supreme Intelligence, and to explain any phenomenon of nature, by the rules of human philosophy; but we shall at last be compelled to acknowledge, that the most ingenious theory of creation is but a theory, and liable to be contradicted by facts as powerful as any which are urged in its support. Nor is it necessary to our happiness, to know how the earth we inhabit was formed: whether created as we see it, or changed by subsequent revolutions, or whether these revolutions were produced by intestine fires, or external floods. It is enough for us, to endeavour to become acquainted with the materials that compose it, their relative positions, and the laws by which they are respectively governed. From the prosecution of this study, we not only derive amusement and delight, but acquire a knowledge that may be rendered subservient to the purposes of life. It is an error to suppose, that a knowledge of the

antediluvian earth, is necessary to our understanding the relations of its present constituent parts. The first, reason as we may, is founded on, and supported throughout by *conjecture.* The last we acquire by actual experiment and repeated observation. We become acquainted, in fact, with the various properties of minerals, and their relative positions in the earth, *before* we attempt to speculate upon the priority or posteriority of their formation; and thus we gain all the practical advantages to be expected from geological science, without concerning ourselves about the fancied connexion between it and the *cosmogony* of visionary theorists.

The author of the work before us, seems to have been fully aware of these truths; and with the exception of a slight hint at the inadmissibility of either of the two great theories, he leaves the original structure of the globe to bolder inquirers. 'In tracing up in their due order,' says our author, 'all the different formations, and contemplating the varied features that are presented to view, we cannot hesitate long in saying, that great and important changes have been wrought, in and upon its surface, long since the completion of this globe; consequently they are unconnected, and can have no relation with its original formation.' To account for some of these changes, is the limited object of Mr. Hayden's present inquiry. Those which have chiefly occupied his attention, are, 1st, the great *alluvial* district which skirts the Atlantic ocean from the eastern extremity of Maine, to the southern shore of the bay of Mexico; 2d, the formation of *Deltas,* and 3d, the *degradation,* or diminution in the height and bulk of mountains, by the disintegration or decomposition of rocks.

With regard to the first, no naturalist can travel over the North American continent, and fail to observe this striking and peculiar feature in its geology. It has consequently been the subject of much discussion, and of many contradictory opinions; but nothing more than confined and partial accounts of some of its most extraordinary appearances, have ever before been attempted. The most generally received opinion with respect to this alluvial district is, that it has been formed by the retrocession of the sea; many geologists, however, have maintained, that it has been gradually produced by *alluvious depositions* at the mouths of the great rivers which empty themselves into the sea. Mr. Hayden con-

tends, that neither of these causes is adequate to the production of such an effect, or to account for various appearances, which an examination of the district presents. Rejecting both opinions, therefore, and confining himself to a close investigation of *facts*, he supposes that the strongest evidence is afforded, 'of a *general current* having prevailed over the whole of this continent,' and 'that it flowed *from the north-east to the south-west.*' To the operations of this current is ascribed the formation of the alluvial district. We shall endeavour, in the first place, to lay before our readers some of the principal arguments of our author in support of these two propositions, and, in the next place, show his view of the probable causes of the current.

1. Deposites of fossil wood, and animal remains, are found *at* and *below* low water, throughout the whole of this region, which it is evident was once occupied by the sea, because it is formed upon a sea *bottom*, or mud, containing marine shells; and because the remains of sharks and whales are found mixed with those of land animals, not in a petrified state, as in secondary formations, but as in alluvious deposites.

2. Immense quantities of *rolled pebbles* of *primitive* formation are found in the same region, in situations where no other primitive formations exist. Their being found south of the primitive district is a proof, that the current must have flowed from the north.

3. The alluvial region increases in breadth, in the same proportion as the country, over which it is supposed to have flowed, increases in breadth.

4. The high northern regions are, for the most part, destitute of soil, presenting little else but naked, barren rocks. That these rocks were once covered by soil and vegetation, is inferred from the remains of plants and animals, peculiar to the region, being found among the deposites to the south.

5 Rocks of enormous size are found deposited in this alluvial region, at a considerable distance *south* of the primitive formations. Rocks of the same kind are found *en place* in abundance, to the *north;* whereas none of the kind are found south, nearer than beyond the sea.

6. And lastly. The bottom of the ocean, in general, at the depth of seventy fathoms, is found to consist of little more than pure *mud:* the alluvial region, and the sea-shore are of

sand, or pure grains of quartz; this region, therefore, has not been produced by the washings of the sea.

These are facts, which must have fallen under the notice of all, who have taken the trouble to examine the alluvial district along the Atlantic coast; and we regret, that the author should have thought it necessary to produce so much testimony in support of his own affirmation of their existence. The mass of evidence which he has crowded into this part of his work, from other writers, and which, we are convinced, he did rather from a diffidence of his own authority, than from any desire to make a vain display of his reading, answers no other purpose than to obscure the sense of the writer, and to exercise, rather too severely, the patience of the reader. In wading through long quotations to prove the existence of a solitary fact, to which the author's simple assertion would have gained sufficient credit, the reader is apt to lose sight of the hypothesis, which this fact is intended to elucidate. But, we repeat, it is too manifest, that this fault has its origin in a laudable design, to deserve much harshness of censure.

This idea of a general current, so far as it regards its course over this continent, is, we believe, entirely new. Mr. Kirwan, in his attempt to explain the phenomena of the deluge, and to vindicate the Mosaic account of this catastrophe, supposes that the great southern ocean contained sufficient water, *in addition to the forty days' rain*, to inundate the whole earth; and that from this source proceeded, *towards the north*, that rush of waters which overwhelmed the globe. But admitting the plausibility of this hypothesis, it does not account for the current, *from north to south*, over this continent, nor does Mr. Hayden suppose that this current necessarily made a part of the *general* deluge spoken of by Moses. Taking for granted the *possibility* (proofs of any theory would be out of the question) of St. Pierre's notion, that the sun may have deviated from the ecliptic, at some period of the world, and have passed over the poles, he assumes as a natural consequence the dissolution of the polar ices. St. Pierre is not the only philosopher who has maintained, that the axis of the earth has been changed. The opinion, indeed, is now become general; for upon no other hypothesis can numerous natural phenomena be explained. Allowing our author, then, to 'assume the position,' let us see how he contrives to make the

melting of the ice at the north pole, a sufficient cause of the effects he has described.

'From this pole, there are but two outlets; the one into the Pacific ocean, through the comparatively narrow channel at Bhering's straits; the other through an immense channel into the Atlantic ocean, between the coast of Greenland, and North cape on the northern coast of Lapland. These two outlets are situated almost diametrically opposite to each other on the two sides of the globe: and whether the sun passed through the meridian of the Atlantic ocean and South sea, as is pretended, or upon a meridian passing through the continent of North and South America, and Asia, is immaterial in the present view, since by far the greatest proportion of the waters must have been thrown into the Atlantic ocean. No sooner was this operation established, and this accession of strength and power thrown into the Atlantic ocean in particular, than its tide began to rise above its common limits, accompanied by a consequent current, both constantly increasing, the one in height, the other in rapidity, proportioned to the increase of power at the focus. These, following the natural course of the Atlantic, soon swelled its waters above the shore of the adjacent continents, over which they began to flow in riotous disorder.

'At the commencement of this frightful drama, it is highly probable that the current, issuing from the pole, was divided by the craggy heights of Spitsbergen, and a part thrown into the White sea; while the other, directing its force against the inhospitable shores of Lapland, and the rocky cliffs of Sweden and Norway, was thrown back upon the eastern and southern coast of Greenland; from thence in a south-western direction, until it struck the south-eastern coast of Labrador, along which it swept, through the straits of Belle Isle, across Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and along the Atlantic coast into the gulf of Mexico. The rapid dissolution of the ices at the pole constantly *progressing*, and as constantly increasing the rapidity of the current and quantity of water in the ocean, it continued to rise in awful majesty, and threaten universal destruction by its resistless force, sweeping across the neighbouring continents.

'A cursory view, or even a glance at the subject, will enable us to form an idea of the operations that must naturally have occurred, from this new order of things. The current, bursting through each avenue, swept in its course every yielding substance. In a short space of time, the southern and eastern coast of Labrador, over which this current was urged with increasing force, was desolated. The soil, which before had fertilized this rocky coast, was hurled adrift, and mingling with the water, was carried across

the country into the gulf of St. Lawrence, and across a part of New England into the sea, or general current of the ocean.

'The waters continuing to rise, soon inundated the frozen regions of Iceland and Greenland, and urging on their precipitous course, swept across Davis' straits, and rolled their tumultuous surges into Hudson's bay, embracing the whole coast of Labrador, while the unequal current of the St. Lawrence was *forced back and upwards to its parent source.*'

If we admit the dissolution of the ice at the north pole, from whatever cause, we may readily admit the whole of the consequences so minutely marked out by Mr. Hayden. But his theory does not suppose an entire dissolution: on the contrary, enormous masses of ice, enclosing huge blocks of granite, must have been torn from their bed by the first violence of the current, and hurled in their solid state, to the regions where this granite is now found, out of place. We confess we cannot understand the necessity of this conclusion. Why is it supposed, that the force of the current was not, in itself, sufficient to transport these masses of granite, without the envelope of ice? For, according to our author's own showing, 'in many places in Baltimore county and elsewhere, during the dreadful fall of rain which was experienced, in almost every part of the United States, in July 1817,' 'veins of granite of many tons' weight were hurried down the streams a quarter of a mile or more, and that almost on a perfect level.' Now the streams in the neighbourhood of Baltimore are all small, and the force of their currents, compared to that which must have swept over the continent by the melting of the polar ices, may be regarded as one to a million; it appears therefore unnecessary to look for any floating medium, to account for the transportation from the north of the large blocks of granite, which are found on the alluvial soil of Ohio, Kentucky, and Alabama. Admitting that these rocks were really brought from distant beds and deposited where they now are, we should regard it as a matter of little importance how they were brought, did not Mr. Hayden seem to lay some stress upon the circumstance of their being 'enveloped in enormous masses of ice,' to prove that they came from the north: 'for it would be absurd in the extreme,' says he, 'to suppose that masses of ice could have been found in the torrid zone, or even within the temperate zone, of sufficient magnitude to have transported those rocks from the south to their present

situations.' There seems, besides, to be no little difficulty in the natural inquiries of how, where, and at what period, these rocks were enveloped in the ice? Were they originally formed within the arctic circle? If so, they must have rested upon some solid foundation; and unless we suppose the ice also to have been an original or primitive formation, that must have been formed upon their surface. The ice would necessarily begin to melt from the surface, and the water would continue to run off as the dissolution took place, until the rocks were left bare, or until a liquid ocean only surmounted them. Or if, as frequently happens, large blocks of ice, by whatever cause, should be detached from their bed, and precipitate with them in their fall parts of the rock upon which they rested, the parts so separated, not being enveloped in the ice, would remain upon the spot where they fell, unless urged on by the force of a powerful current *a tergo*. But as the supposed current is produced by the melting of the ice within the circle, its power would be inadequate to such an effect, until arrived at some distance from its source.

There being no force, then, within the space which gave origin to the current, sufficient to propel the rocks thence to the situations in which they are now found, we must suppose that they were not brought from the Arctic region. It is by no means necessary to adopt the reverse of this proposition, and suppose that they came from the south. An immense, unexplored territory intervenes between the commencement of the alluvial district, on this continent, and the frozen regions. The power of an impetuous torrent sweeping over this territory, would be amply sufficient to detach enormous rocks from their primitive beds, and lodge them in distant regions. If masses of ice had any agency in their transportation it must have been by their power of propulsion, and not by serving as a medium in which they could float down the current. Another objection to the idea of the rocks being enveloped in ice, and thus lodged where they are now found, is, that if they had floated with the ice, they would be found much farther south than the latitude of 39° or 40°, 'which,' our author says, 'is about the latitude in which those rocks lie.' For we can hardly agree with him, that, because 'the huge fields and mountains of ice, which every spring float down the Atlantic ocean,' by the time they reach the latitude mentioned, 'become so weak and rotten as to be

incapable of supporting or retaining any considerable weight that might be attached to them;' *therefore*, the same thing would occur with the masses of ice, which are supposed to have floated down the current. There certainly can be no comparison between the rapidity of this temporary torrent, and the uniform motion of the Atlantic ocean. A mass of ice would be carried, through the same temperature, to a much greater distance, before it became weak and rotten, down a precipitous *current*, than when slowly wafted upon the bosom of a gentle *tide*; and if by the force of the latter, it yearly reaches the latitude of 40°, we may readily believe it might have been carried to 20° or 15° by the former.

The argument against the possibility of the alluvial district having been formed by deposites from the rivers or the sea, is ingenious and well managed. The author very justly argues, that if this district had been produced by the annual overflowing of the rivers, vegetable remains, and fossil shells, would be found in every stratum, or layer of earth, between the surface, and the depth at which only they are now found. This depth varies, in various parts of the alluvial region; but whether at twenty or at forty feet, no instance has occurred of these deposites, in the intermediate strata. The inference, therefore, seems to be irresistible, that, whatever may have been the cause that buried these remains in their present beds, it operated singly and simultaneously throughout the whole of the region called alluvial.

The next subject treated by the author is the formation of *Deltas*.—The general, and we believe, indeed, the only opinion, which has been hitherto advanced upon this question, is that they are the exclusive production of the *alluvion* periodically brought down by the rivers, and deposited at their mouths. If this opinion were correct, Mr. Hayden very sagaciously infers, that deltas would be formed at the mouths of all the capital rivers, at least of all those 'which bring down an equal quantity of matter of alluvion,' with the rivers at whose mouths deltas are formed. But this is found not to be the fact. 'All capital rivers do not form deltas,' even when they bring down the matter of alluvion in considerable quantities. Hence the author concludes, 'that their formation is not the natural result of the deposition, brought down by their currents, but rather of a combination of causes,' which he thus enumerates, viz. '1st. The alluvion of the river.

2d. That produced by the *winds*, and 3dly, That occasioned directly or indirectly by the *labours of man.*' The principal argument upon which the author rests the establishment of this hypothesis, is drawn from the appearances at the mouth of the Po, and the present situation of the city of Adria. This city, according to the accounts of the best historians, 'was formerly situated on the edge of the coast,' from which it is now distant more than fifteen miles. But in the twelfth century, before which nothing precise, says M. de Prony, is known respecting the situation of the shores of the Adriatic, at the mouths of the Po, the distance of the city from the same coast was but little more than six miles. At this period Mr. Hayden supposes that the city of Adria had been founded for more than three thousand years, making the annual average increase of the delta 'about ten feet and a half.' But to give to our readers a favourable specimen of the author's style and manner, we copy the argument in his own words.

'Let us now examine the rapid increase of the delta at the Po, from the end of the twelfth century to that of the sixteenth, and so on, to see the proportion which the gain of the latter bears to the former, in order to determine whether it has been produced by the alluvion brought down by the current of the river.'

'The northern mouth, which had usurped the situation of the Mazzarno canal, becoming the Ramo di Tramontana, had advanced in the year 1600, to the distance of twenty thousand metres [*something more than twelve miles*] from the meridian of Adria; and the southern mouth, which had taken possession of the canal of Toy, was then seventeen thousand metres (or eighteen thousand five hundred and ninety-one yards) advanced beyond the same point. Thus the shore had become extended, nine or ten thousand metres (or ten thousand nine hundred thirty-six yards,) to the north, and six or seven thousand, to the south. "Between these two mouths there was formerly a bay, or part of the coast less advanced than the rest, called Sacca di Goro. During the same period of four hundred years, previous to the commencement of the 17th century, the *great and extensive embankments of the Po were constructed;* and also, during the same period, the southern slopes of the Alps began to be cultivated."

'From this it appears, that the extension of the delta at the Po had increased, in the space of about four hundred years, nearly eight thousand yards; a distance nearly equal to eight tenths of what it had gained, during the whole period, from the founding of the city of Adria, to the twelfth century: an enormous dispro-

portion, as must be admitted on all hands. But let us examine the subject a little further, in order to comprehend the full extent of this rapid increase.'

The author here quotes a passage from Cuvier, to show that the delta has gained upon the Adriatic, in the last *two* hundred years, about eight miles and a half; and then proceeds, 'almost twice as much as it had gained in the preceding four hundred years, from the end of the twelfth to that of the sixteenth century, and more, (in proportion as eight is to six,) than it had gained from the founding of the city of Adria, to the twelfth century, a period, probably, of about three thousand years.'

'To what shall we attribute this surprising difference, this amazing disproportion? Not, certainly, to the alluvion brought down by the current of the river Po. If its waters had been rendered turbid with mud or alluvion, from one end of the year to the other, for the space of two hundred years, which is a case unheard of or unknown, we could scarcely believe, that it would afford a sufficient quantity to produce that difference; for it must be recollected, that as the delta advances into the Adriatic, or any other sea, the depth of the water is very much increased, and particularly, when we advance to the distance of twenty-one miles from the shore; at least, it is so in most seas.'

The author allows some weight to M. de Prony's opinion, that this increase has been produced by the *cultivation* of the districts bordering on the Po, which prepared the soil to be carried off with greater facility, by the mountain torrents, flowing into the river. But the soil carried down by the torrents alone, he regards as insufficient to account for the increase. Cultivation prepares the soil to be acted upon also by *winds;* the phenomena accompanying the operations of which, he considers as similar to those attending the operations of currents of waters.

'If the *winds* rush, in unsteady and violent gusts, over the land, no matter from what quarter or point of the compass, not only the dust but even the sand is hurled into the air with the same facility as by a current of water, and wafted in clouds over the land, varying on *its* course, until meeting with some obstructions by which *its* current is slackened, *it* immediately deposits *its alluvion*, (for it is nearly the same thing) to the *leeward* of whatever object may interrupt *its* course.'

But there is another phenomenon attending the operation of winds, which the author thinks worthy of notice :

'It is, that when a river *running through a country* [where else could it run ?] is confined for any considerable distance from its influx into the sea or bay, between high ridges of hills, or banks, there is a current of wind rushing down its course, differing one or two points from the general course of the wind that may be prevailing at the time, or blowing in nearly a *corresponding* direction. [By which, as will be seen, is meant an *opposite* direction.]

'Thus if a river runs in a *southerly* direction, and the wind is blowing fresh from the *north-east*, and raising the dust and sand in its course, when it meets with the current of air flowing down the river, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, the same phenomenon may be observed, as when the rapid currents of two rivers unite ; the sand and dust are whirled round in the most confused manner, and at last let fall upon the shore, and in the water, where, if the tide is setting towards the shore, the sand will be again thrown upon the beach. Hence it is, that we often see narrow projecting points of sand at the mouths of rivers running through a sandy country.'

'The increase of alluvion from this cause, may be thought to be very small indeed ; and as bearing no comparison with that brought down by the current of rivers ; but it must be considered, that a recurrence of this cause may happen every week, or continue for a week. Whereas, rivers seldom bring down much alluvion, except during the heavy autumnal rains, or the melting of the snows in the spring, which rarely occur more than twice in the year.'

The third cause in the combination that produces the formation of deltas, is the agency of man. This may operate either directly, by 'dyking, filling up,' &c. or indirectly, by 'the accumulation of filth and offal from a city, which, when it is a large and populous one, amounts, in the course of a few hundred years, to an inconceivable quantity.' It would be difficult to assign limits to the effects which might be produced, directly and indirectly, by the labours of man. If it be granted to the author, in the first instance, (and the testimony of historians is undoubtedly in his favour) that there was no appearance of a delta, at the mouth of the Po, until after the building of the city of Adria ; and that its subsequent increase was in proportion to the probable increase of population, and the consequent increase of labour ; the jus-

tice of his conclusion cannot be denied. Indeed, as the author says, if we examine attentively the nature of these causes, 'we shall not hesitate in acknowledging that they are amply sufficient to effect' all the changes which have been observed, on this part of the Adriatic coast.

With regard to the deltas of the Indus and the Ganges, Mr. Hayden says, 'neither the alluvion brought down by these rivers, nor the labours of man, can be considered in any other light, than as having contributed, *in part*,' to their formation and extension. 'Another more powerful auxiliary presents itself (says he) as having afforded its constant aid, in the accomplishment of this great work, I mean the great and extensive deserts in the neighbourhood of these rivers.'

'If we take into view,' he continues, 'the situation of these barren deserts, rendered still more sterile by the intensity of a vertical sun, that blasts every effort of vegetation upon these oceans of sand; and their exposure to the violence of the eastern Monsoons, which are, for more than half the year, sweeping over these heated wastes, and raising the sand in clouds, and bearing it across the gulf of Scindy, and the mouth of the Indus, need we question the sources from which the materials were derived to form these deltas?'

The author has devoted a separate and entire chapter to the examination of the delta of the Nile, though the greater part of his reasoning upon it might with equal justice have been applied to the formation of deltas in general. His proofs, we think, are abundantly satisfactory, that it is not formed by the alluvion of the river; and the many well authenticated accounts of the desolating effects of the operation of the winds, upon the sandy deserts in its immediate neighborhood, will go far to show, that he has not attributed more to this cause, than it is capable of producing. One of the strongest arguments in favour of the supposed agency of the winds, in forming of this remarkable delta, is that the ancient channel of the Nile, at the foot of the Lybian range of hills, is now entirely filled up; a circumstance which cannot be attributed to the alluvion of the river, because its course being purposely changed by the erection of a strong mound, its waters could have little or no access to it; 'for,' says the author, 'had the waters been suffered to flow through, or over that mound, in any degree, it would ultimately have made a breach through

it, and defeated every purpose that was intended.' The inference therefore is, 'that this ancient channel, which stretches along from south to north, on the very borders of the deserts, and exposed to every blast that sweeps over their surfaces, has been filled up by the sands, brought by the winds and deposited in its bed.' The lake Mareotis has been in like manner filled up, 'nearly to the level of the country,' according to Mr. Rennell. If the sands have done so much, why may we not ascribe to the same cause, at least in great part, 'the elevation and extension of the plains of Egypt?' This is the amount of Mr. Hayden's reasoning upon the subject, which is, to say the least of it, as philosophical as that of any of his antagonists.

The formation of the delta of the Mississippi, the author attributes principally to the action of the *general current* before spoken of. We have not leisure to follow him through his arguments, in support of this opinion; if they are not always convincing, it cannot be denied that they are ingenious and novel; and if we do not always agree with him in his inferences, we are compelled to acknowledge that he assumes no unwarrantable premises. We cannot, however, very clearly comprehend the nature of those evils, which he seems so seriously to deprecate, as likely to arise from the increase and extension of deltas, in the neighbourhood of this river. It seems to be the opinion of the author, that the alluvion deposited by the river, at the moment it meets with the resistance of the tide of the sea, into which it flows, will ultimately become an insurmountable barrier; and that the current, thus checked in its advance, will be thrown back upon the country, and destroy it, either by the immediate effects of the inundation, or by the formation of lakes and pools, which, when left to stagnate, will become sources of miasmata, and consequently of deadly disease. Mr. Darby, in his geographical account of Louisiana, expresses the same fear, and the inhabitants themselves are not without apprehension of some dreadful catastrophe, at a future day. But, as there seems to be no evidence, that the Mississippi has ever changed its course; and as, therefore, we may conclude that it has flowed through its present channel, ever since the subsidence of the waters of the general deluge, that is, for more than three thousand years, and that it has 'literally forced its way in defiance of the waters of the gulf and the tides of the sea,'

we may reasonably hope, that the dreaded evil of a check sufficient to stop its current and throw it back upon itself, is, if not altogether chimerical, at least too remote to justify the alarm of the present generation.

The third subject of our author, is the *decomposition* of rocks. Upon this, as upon the two subjects just treated of, he entertains an opinion, at variance with the doctrine of most geologists, but certainly more consistent with established facts, and more consonant to the suggestions of sound reason. He does not deny, that rocks are liable to decomposition; but he contends, and we think abundantly proves, that it 'is not a process so general and *so rapid* as many seem disposed to believe.' Among many other ingenious arguments, to show the absurdity of the generally received opinion, we select one, which is in itself enough to decide the question. The agents of decomposition, necessarily acting upon the surfaces of rocks, would first seize upon the prominent points and angles, and show their effects, by reducing these to a rounded appearance. This is the universal effect of the application of the principal agents of their decomposition, or more properly their disintegration, which are, alternate heat and cold, moisture and dryness; and the process of the operation is too obvious to require explanation. This, then, being the fact, and rocks being almost universally found to retain *all their points and angles*, it follows that the process of decomposition has not commenced, or that it is too slow to authorize the prevalent opinion, that 'the greatest part of the substances which constitute most soils proceed from the decomposition of the rocks surrounding or lying under them.' The whole chapter upon this subject is well worthy the attention of those visionary theorists who seem more inclined to create worlds of their own, than patiently to examine the phenomena of that, in which they are placed.

Having thus laid before our readers a view of the principal subjects treated of by Mr. Hayden, it remains only to speak of the manner in which his work has been executed; and here we cannot help regretting, that literature and science do not always maintain that close connexion, which would ensure the mutual esteem and veneration of their respective votaries. The style of this volume will deter many from going through it, who would willingly subscribe to the high claims of the author, as a profound philosopher. It will be

seen at once, that Mr. Hayden has been more accustomed to think deeply, than to express his thoughts; and that he has paid much more attention to the *uses*, than to the *graces* of composition. This is not the first time that his name has been before the public. In Professor Cleaveland's admirable work on mineralogy, we find it of frequent recurrence; and this circumstance alone is a passport to our notice. But no one who reads these essays, freed from the trammels of fastidious criticism, will need to be told, that their author merits his respect: whether he had ever heard of him before or not, he would be ready to acknowledge the honour of his acquaintance, after a candid consideration of his claims.

Mr. Hayden's defective style, however, much as it might be censured, is not the greatest fault of his work. It exhibits a want of method and arrangement, altogether inadmissible in a work of science. The chapters, into which it is divided, are without heading; and the divisions are made, in several instances, in the middle of an argument, where the sense would hardly call for a separate paragraph. The chapters from six to eleven, inclusive, should either have been embodied in the first, or have been added as an *appendix*, since the reader is compelled to refer to them, before he can understand the mode of reasoning adopted in the first. The different subjects are mingled together without order, and the necessary consequence is, that the same arguments are frequently repeated.

We have before expressed our disapprobation of the very free use he has made of quotations from other writers. They make up, indeed, so much of the book, that the purchaser may have just cause of complaint, that he has been made to pay, for what was already his own. Nor is he always correct, in his references to the authors of these many quotations. He sometimes gives credit to Mr. Rennell, for the opinions of Herodotus, and to Cuvier, for the sentiments of M. De Prony. But this has undoubtedly arisen from inadvertence, as it is evident Mr. Hayden has studied his subject with too much attention, not to be acquainted with the opinions of all the writers of note, who have touched upon it. Upon the whole, we are disposed to regard the 'Geological Essays' as well deserving an attentive perusal. We would especially recommend the selection of queries embraced in the 'Agenda,' to the notice of every scientific traveller, and man of leisure.

ART. VIII.—*Histoire de L'Astronomie ancienne et moderne De J. S. Bailly, dans laquelle on a conservé littéralement le texte historique de l'Auteur, en suprimant les details scientifiques, les calculs abstraits, les notes hypothétiques, peu utiles à beaucoup de Lecteurs, et aux Elèves auxquels ce Livre est spécialement destiné.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 866. A Paris, Chez Bernard, 1805.

J. Farrar

ASTRONOMY is certainly the boldest and most comprehensive of all our speculations. It is the science of the material universe considered as a whole. Though employed upon objects apparently withdrawn from the sphere of human action and pursuit, it teaches us, nevertheless, that these objects materially affect, nay constitute, our physical condition. The wide-spreading firmament, while it lifts itself above all mortal things, exhibits to us that luminary, which is the light, and life, and glory of our world, and when this retires from our view, is lighted up with a thousand lesser fires, that never cease to burn, that never fail to take their accustomed places, and never rest from their slow, solemn, and noiseless march. Among the objects more immediately about us all is vicissitude and change. It is the destiny of terrestrial things to perpetuate themselves by succession. Plants arise out of the earth, flourish awhile and decay, and their place is filled by others. Animals also have their periods of growth and decline. Even man is not exempt from the general law. His exquisite frame, with all its fine organs, is soon reduced to its original elements, to be moulded again into new and humbler forms. Nations are like individuals, privileged only with a more protracted existence. The firm earth itself, the theatre of all this change, partakes in a degree of the common lot of its inhabitants, and the sea once heaved its waves where now rolls a tide of wealth and population. Situated as we are, in this fleeting, fluctuating state, it is consoling to be able to dwell upon an enduring scene, to contemplate laws that are immutable, an order that has never been interrupted, to fix, not the thoughts only, but the eye, upon objects that after the lapse of so many ages, and the fall of so many states, cities, human institutions, and monuments of art, continue to occupy the same places, to move with the same regularity, and to shine with the same pure, fresh, undiminished lustre.

As the heavens are the most striking spectacle that presents itself to our contemplation, so there is no subject of philo-

sophical inquiry, which has more engaged the attention of mankind. Its history carries us back to the earliest times, and introduces us to the languages and customs, the religion and poetry, the sciences and arts, the tastes, talents, and peculiar genius, of the different nations of the earth. The ancient Atlantides and Ethiopians, the Egyptian priests, the magi of Persia, the shepherds of Chaldea, the bramins of India, the mandarins of China, the Phenician navigators, the philosophers of Greece, and the wandering Arabs, have contributed to the general mass of knowledge and speculation upon this subject, have added more or less to this vast structure, the common monument of the industry, invention, and intellectual resources of mankind. They, whose imaginations have wandered up to the sphere of the stars, like those who have visited unfrequented regions on the earth, have left there, as in a sort of album, some memorial of themselves and of the times in which they lived. The constellations are a faithful picture of the ruder stages of civilization. They ascend to times of which no other record exists, and are destined to remain when all others are lost. Fragments of history, curious dates and documents relating to chronology, geography, and languages, are here preserved in imperishable characters. The adventures of the gods and the inventions of men, the exploits of heroes and the fancies of poets, are here perpetually celebrated before all nations. The seven stars and Orion present themselves to us as they appeared to Amos and Homer. Here is consecrated the lyre of Orpheus and the ship of the Argonauts, and, in the same firmament the mariner's compass and the telescope of Herschell.

We remark further, that astronomy is the most improved of all the branches of human knowledge, and that which does the greatest credit to the human understanding. We have in this obtained the object of our researches. We have solved the great problem proposed to us in the celestial motions; and our solution is as simple and as grand, as the spectacle itself, and is in every respect worthy of so exalted a subject. It is not the astronomer only, who is thus satisfied, but the proof is of a nature to carry conviction to the most illiterate and skeptical. Our knowledge, extending to the principles and laws which the author of nature has chosen to impress upon his work, comprehends the future; it resembles that which has been regarded as the exclusive attribute of supreme intelligence. We are

thus enabled, not only to explain those unusual appearances in the heavens, which were formerly the occasion of such unworthy fears, but to forewarn men of their occurrence; and, by predicting the time, place, and circumstances of the phenomenon, to disarm it of its terror.

There is however nothing perhaps so surprising in this science, as that it makes us acquainted with methods, by which we can survey those bright fields on which it is employed, and apply our own familiar measures to the paths which are there traced, and to the bodies that trace them; that we can estimate the form, and dimensions, and inequalities, of objects so immense, and so far removed from the little scene of our labors. What would be the astonishment of an inhabitant of one of those bodies, of Jupiter for instance, to find that, by means of instruments of a few feet in length, and certain figures and characters, still smaller, all of our own invention, we had succeeded in determining the magnitude and weight of this great planet, the length of its days and nights, and the variety of its seasons, that we had watched the motions of its moons, calculated their eclipses, and applied them to important domestic purposes? What would be our astonishment to learn, that an insect, one of those for instance which serve sometimes to illuminate the waters of the ocean, though confined by the exercise of its proper organs, and locomotive powers, to the sphere of a few inches, had, by artificial aids of its own contriving, been able to extend its sphere of observation, to the huge monsters that move about it; that it had even attempted, not altogether without success, to fathom the depth of the abyss, in which it occupies so insignificant a place, and to number the beings it contains?

Since astronomy is thus connected with the development of our faculties, it may be a matter of some curiosity to notice a few of the more important epochs in its history. It is considered as properly originating with the Greeks, who were called to Alexandria by the Ptolemies. Before the foundation of this school, no general scheme, with respect to the study of the heavens, had been devised, no enlarged notions had been formed, no means had been found out for precise and accurate determinations, nor could astronomy be said to exist as a science. Those who pretended to study the heavens, were employed in vague notices of the most obvious phenomena. '*On such a day, an hour after sunset or two hours before*

midnight, the moon was one half or one third eclipsed, to the north or south. A planet eclipsed a star, or was distant from a star one or two moons, or one or two cubits. This was the kind of observations made by the Chaldeans and others, before the time above referred to. It is to the Greeks, that we are indebted for every thing that reduced the study of the stars to the form of a rational and philosophical inquiry. They conceived the plan which has now been pursued for two thousand years. They projected the work on which so many hands have been employed. They invented instruments and methods which are the basis of th se still in use. They are the authors of that geometry, which is our pride and boast, the science of extension, and of the relations of lines and angles, the most powerful and the most indispensable of all instruments, in an enterprise of this nature, and the most purely a creation of all productions of the human mind. It is in fine to the philosophers of this school, that we are indebted for the first example of a regular course of observations, for those determinations which make the elements and groundwork of the science. The magnitude of the earth, the length of the year, the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes, are among the objects sought and attained with more or less success. The distances and dimensions of the sun and moon were also discussed ; but what seemed at this time the most daring exploit of all, *rem etiam deo improbam*, according to Pliny, was the making a catalogue of the number and positions of the stars. This was undertaken and executed by Hipparchus, who has more claim, than any other person, to be considered as the founder of the science. Others had distinguished themselves by particular researches or insulated observations. Hipparchus took a comprehensive view of the whole subject, collected and combined the detached results of those who preceded him, re-examined every thing, and built up a body of sound doctrines upon the sure basis of observation and a refined geometry. The fruits of these immense labours were preserved by Ptolemy, the last ornament of this school, and, together with some additions of his own, were digested into the form of a treatise, probably the first deserving this title, certainly the oldest now extant. In this venerable work, the united product of so many generations of philosophers and learned men, to which so many powerful minds have made their feeble contributions, and toward

which so many have laboured in vain, or worse than in vain, we recognize the fairest and noblest specimen of the scientific attainments of the ancients; we here find their amount of knowledge, and their final opinion, with regard to this great problem, which has exercised the skill and ingenuity of so many people of different ages and countries.

The destruction of this renowned seat of learning by the Arabs, was followed by a long and barren period. At length this very people were the first to catch the spirit which seemed still to linger near the consecrated spot. They attempted to collect and rekindle at Bagdat the remains of that science, which still slumbered in the ruins of Alexandria. They took advantage of the lapse of several centuries to correct certain results transmitted to them. With the improvements and additions, that were now introduced into the science, are associated the names of Almamon and Albitegnius. Moreover about this time Ulugh Begh, a prince of Tartary, and grandson of Tamerlane, improved the tables of Ptolemy, and made a new catalogue of the stars. This observer is remarkable, as being the last of any note, who contributed to the advancement of the science in this quarter of the world.

We are now to take a view of the science in a new region of the earth. It had hitherto flourished only in mild climates and under serene and brilliant skies. It may be considered as indigenous in the East, but, like many plants of the same climate, it was more luxuriant than fruitful. In Europe it never sprung up spontaneously. It was transplanted thither from Asia, and as is sometimes the case with exotics, it has thrived better by assiduous and judicious cultivation, in an unpropitious soil, than it had done without this care, in regions the most favourable to its growth.

Astronomy has now been an object of attention in Europe but a few years, as it were, compared with the whole period of its history, and it has assumed a tone and character never before conceived by its most devoted friends. The first material step in its progress was the establishment of the present arrangement of the sun and planets by Copernicus. This doctrine, to be sure, was held by Pythagoras, and, as if the soil had some connexion with it, on European ground. But it was now presented in a new and stronger light, with its leading features more fully and distinctly unfolded.

It is remarkable, that this doctrine should, in so many in-

stances, have exposed its authors and defenders to persecution. Pythagoras, we are told, made it known only to a select few; but his disciple Philolaus, who had the courage to teach it publicly, was obliged to fly in order to escape the odium it excited. Two and a half centuries afterward Aristarchus ventured to maintain the same opinion and met with a similar fate. 'He was accused of impiety, for having disturbed the repose of Vesta, that is, of the earth, and of the gods Lares the protectors of the universe.' Copernicus meditated upon the subject for many years, before he undertook to give his thoughts to the world, and scarcely surviving the publication of his work, he left to others to receive the shock, that awaited those who espoused it. Galileo could not resist the accumulated evidence, that presented itself to his enlarged and philosophic mind, in favour of this refined scheme, and was accordingly destined to bear the whole weight of indignation that was ready to burst upon the disturbers of a prejudice so old and so deeply rooted. He was arrested and seven cardinals clothed with the authority of the church sat in judgment upon this great apostle of natural truth, and solemnly pronounced the following *arret*; 'To maintain that the sun, immoveable and without local motion, occupies the centre of the world, is a proposition absurd, false in philosophy and heretical, since it is contrary to the testimony of the scriptures. It is equally absurd, and false in philosophy, to say that the earth is not immoveable in the centre of the world; and this proposition, theologically considered, is at least erroneous in faith.' vol. i. p. 144.

With the name of Galileo we connect the first use of the telescope, and the commencement of a new and most brilliant era in the history of astronomy. The defect of the natural organ with respect to the objects of this science had never been recognized. We had gazed upon them without comprehending what we saw. We had cast a vacant eye over the splendid pages of this volume, as children amuse themselves with a book, which they are unable to read. We had caught here and there, as it were, a capital letter, or a picture, but we had failed to distinguish those smaller characters on which the sense of the whole depended.

It is not the least of the advantages of this wonderful invention, that it has taught us the importance of those means of improvement and enjoyment, which are placed within the

reach of our own ingenuity and skill. No one surely would have dreamed of procuring such an aid to the natural sight, any more than of creating a new sense. It would have seemed like changing the law of our being, and the condition in which we are placed. We have, by means of this instrument, emerged as it were from a prison. The mind has effected its enlargement, as an insect bursts its little tenement, and flutters through the free air, and over the gay fields.

Another change in the science, of the first importance, was wrought by the genius of Kepler. The discoveries of this great man, though less calculated to strike the common observer than many others, are notwithstanding the foundation of all the great improvements of later times. They are the first steps in that rapid career, which has placed Europeans so far before all others who have cultivated this science.

The history of astronomy has been divided into two periods, one extending from its origin to the time of Kepler, and the other comprehending the interval that has since elapsed. During the first of these periods all investigations proceeded upon the supposition, that the planets moved in circular orbits. Kepler, after the most intense and persevering application to this subject, had the rare merit of disabusing the world of this prolific error. He found that the true form of the planetary orbits was the ellipse. He detected also the law of the inequality of their motions, and the relation between the distances of these bodies from the sun, and the times in which they complete their revolutions.

'It is the privilege of great men,' says Bailly, 'to change received ideas and to announce truths, which spread their influence over future ages. By these titles Kepler deserves to be regarded as one of the greatest men that has appeared upon earth. By the ascendancy of his genius he commenced our superiority over the ancients; he is the true founder of modern astronomy, and is a present which Germany has made to Europe.—Kepler proceeded, by removing one prejudice after another; it is by successive steps, by repeated efforts, that one renders himself worthy to tear the veil extended over twenty centuries, and to become the light of successive ages. Kepler, instructed by tradition, and imbued with a philosophy, the basis of which was simplicity, was to seek truth only through multiplied facts, and complicated hypotheses. It was necessary to get rid of a great number of errors, to substitute forced suppositions for absurd ones: a long series of ages was to be traversed in order to arrive at the simple

principles;—the secret thus detected, had never been revealed; this discovery was a favour from heaven. It is the privilege of genius to penetrate into the essences of things, to ground truths upon the foundations of nature, and to render them as durable as her works.

'Kepler's life, so occupied, so glorious for himself, so useful to the sciences, was still disturbed by the care of providing for his family. He had a small pension, but on account of the scarcity of the times, it was not paid him. He had to make journeys to solicit it, and thus, consuming time that was so precious, his mind was harassed, and his strength wasted by anxiety. He was reduced for eleven years to absolute want. He died at the age of fifty-nine: leaving to his wife and children nothing but his fame.' pp. 93, 140.

The last and most important of all the revolutions, that have taken place in the science, is that achieved by Newton. There is no other instance of so signal a change in the opinions and pursuits of the philosophic world. It may be compared to those great and rapid conquests, by which new boundaries and new laws have been given to states and kingdoms, and new directions to the industry and active employments of men; with this difference, however, that these have been made by violence, and with the aid and co-operation of others, while the revolution in the sciences, effected by Newton, was the silent, solitary work of an individual.

It has been said, that Newton was as fortunate, as he was great. It is undoubtedly true, that there is a particular epoch in the progress of discovery, more favourable than any other, for the exertion of great talents, and calculated to reflect peculiar glory upon him whose lot it is to fall upon it. In the gradual approaches of day, there is no one moment that is easily distinguished from those which precede and follow it, but the first bursting of the sun above the horizon is an event that is marked by every one. If Newton had been appointed to fill the place of Hipparchus or Kepler, he might not have done more than either of them. Coming to the work, as he did, he availed himself of all the talents and exertions of those who preceded him. He looked around and saw the materials for a beautiful edifice, wrought with immense labor and skill, by different persons, at different times, and in different parts of the earth. It required the genius of a master-builder, to perceive the relation and fitness of

parts so detached from each other, so numerous, so covered with rubbish and the rust of time, and needing so much to be supplied to connect and complete the whole. Michael Angelo said he would place the Pantheon in the air. Newton has placed in the view of all the world and all future ages, the great works of his predecessors, in one vast imperishable monument of his genius.

It is worthy of remark, that though the English nation is so justly proud of this illustrious philosopher, it has left it to foreigners to do justice to his character and his writings. Among these there are none of the popular class whose account is more full and more eloquent than that of Bailly. The following is selected as a specimen.

'In speaking of Newton,' says he, 'who was alone and modest, who did not seek to appear, who did great things with simplicity, it is necessary to be as simple as he was, as nature whom he followed.—We shall not speak of his studies; he was born rather to invent than to study; he is not seen, like others, advancing by efforts and by failures. Thus Fontenelle applies to him a thought of the ancients, respecting the noble river which fertilizes Egypt, the source of which was a long time unknown. *Men are not permitted to see the Nile in its feeble emerging state.*' p. 300—303.

'Newton was at mature age, when he published his immortal work. He had been revolving the subject in his mind, and maturing the truths during twenty years. Nothing but excessive modesty could have so long prevented his assuming such a superiority over the most distinguished men of his age. So rare a merit ought to be preserved in history. Justice requires, that men should be known by their virtues; and pride may learn by examples, that modesty is almost always inseparable from true greatness.

'Newton, more than any man, owes an apology for his elevation; he took a flight, so extraordinary, and returned with truths so new, that great address was necessary in those who would resist these truths. Doubtless other discoveries were necessary to prepare the way for Newton. Particular views lead to more general ones. Hooke pronounced the name of attraction; he thought it was univeral; he asked what were its laws. As to facts and principles, Kepler had given the laws of motion of the celestial bodies, Galileo those of the descent of heavy ones near the earth, Descartes had announced the centrifugal force, Huygens had established its principles and variations; such are the steps by which Newton rose. It is thus that the mind of one age is formed by that of the preceding. But past ages had left errors as well as

truths; a singular talent was necessary to make the discrimination, and to call to its assistance all the parts necessary to so great a design. It is a beautiful sight to see Newton moulding the earth to its proper shape; saying to the tides, hitherto shall ye come, and no farther; chaining the planets to an immoveable centre, and prescribing limits to the eccentric wanderings of comets. How elevated his rank, how far removed from all who have preceded him in the same career!

'Newton was as singular for the character of his mind as for its superiority; it was pure and without alloy. Genius for the most part is ardent and passionate; it seems to require the impulse of motion, in order to rise. That of Newton was great without passion, and tranquil without losing any of its activity. There is no appearance of effort in what he does; he employs one truth to develope another; he seems to have made use of his genius merely to transport him to the centre of nature, where all the rays of truth meet; he relates as a spectator, what he saw.

'Newton had acquired all his glory by the time that most men begin their career. He passed the rest of his life in civil employments, in reaping the fruits of his labours, in receiving the esteem and admiration, which were so universal. Rewards and titles were heaped upon him, which did less honour to the man, who received, than to the nation, who conferred them. The eulogy of the English will always find itself connected with that of Newton. This nation has the credit of discerning merit, and of rewarding it with admiration; talent has a rank in it, and becomes the object of a durable homage. The genius of Newton perhaps the most rare, that any country, or any age has produced, excited a general enthusiasm. His philosophy was that of England, all her distinguished men were his disciples, the whole mass of her enlightened citizens, freest in a free country, chose him for their chief and dictator, and the nation rendered him a kind of worship. This great man shewed still his superiority by preserving his modesty; he never abandoned it; the serenity of his mind was not disturbed by so many distinguished suffrages; he always possessed his soul; he was no less remarkable for this than for his talents. Having long enjoyed what is most valuable among men, virtue and glory, he at length closed his life in that peace which he had ever sought, and in that advanced age, which seems to be the recompense of virtue, and the consequence of a tranquil life.' vol. ii. pp. 300—327.

In speaking of the origin and progress of astronomy, we have taken no notice of a favourite hypothesis of our author, respecting the very great antiquity of this science.

'In passing, says he, over the history of ancient astronomy we find only relics, we meet with nothing but the vestiges of a ruined system, of a primitive institution, the splendor of which is attested by what remains. The parts, by which these relics were originally connected, are now destroyed, or lost in the obscurity of time. We have not been governed by the spirit of system in the idea we have formed of an ancient state of the sciences, changed and effaced by some natural convulsion, or political revolution; it is the result of a critical examination of facts, and a careful comparison of such as are related to each other. The example of revolutions, of which some account still remains, shows the possibility of others, of which the tradition may be lost. We are in this respect situated like a person, who should be transported suddenly to the banks of the Euphrates. In the midst of those plains, to him new and unknown, the spectacle of vast ruins, in part concealed by vegetation, or covered with earth, the superb columns, remaining erect to show the heighth of the edifices to which they belonged, the shattered remnants of wealth and magnificence, the sculptured marble, covered with inscriptions, would immediately suggest to him the idea of a large city; he would know it was Babylon. The plan, the disposition of the buildings, the general character and effect of the whole, would no longer remain; but in the details, the work of art, in the immensity of the edifices, the fruits of riches and power, he would recognize the ancient residence of a numerous and civilized people.' vol. i. pp. 187, 188.

It is contended in proof of what is here advanced, that the knowledge remaining among the most ancient people, of which we have any account, was not of an elementary nature, was not that which would first suggest itself to persons just beginning to learn, but was rather the detached portions of a highly improved system, it was such as would most naturally be retained by nations, who had ceased to cultivate it. We find, for instance, the Chaldeans, Indians, and Chinese, from time immemorial, in the possession of methods for calculating eclipses, which they blindly followed without any idea of the principles on which they depended. These nations, it is maintained, thus possessing the same important methods without the industry and talents necessary to discover them, must have derived them from their common ancestors, or from some active, ingenious people, like the present Europeans, who had cultivated this science long enough, and successfully enough, to form tables of the motions of the heavenly bodies.

'Is it asked,' says our author, 'how this knowledge was preserved and transmitted; we answer that the columns, covered with hieroglyphical characters, are the records which have survived the deluge. These monuments of the ancient inhabitants of the earth were undoubtedly very numerous in Asia. It is in the part of the world first settled, that these original documents are to be looked for. The columns of Egypt, on which Thaut engraved the principles of the sciences, are only copies, which have become originals now that the others are forgotten.' p. 10.

Among the relics of the antideluvian astronomy supposed to be retained, by the oriental nations, are mentioned particularly some remarkable astronomical periods.

'The month of the moon, the year of the sun, we are told, were exactly determined; the revolutions of these bodies had been combined in a period of two hundred and twenty-three months, which supposes a knowledge of the inequalities of the moon, in a period of nineteen years, the golden cycle reinvented by Meton, in a period of six hundred years, the exactness of which is extolled by Dominique Cassini. There are, indeed, many others produced by the course of the stars. The obliquity of the sun's path had been recognized and determined, the heavens had been divided into constellations, the zodiac into twelve parts according to the course of the sun, and into twenty-eight according to the course of the moon. In fine, a degree of the circumference of the earth had been measured, and made use of to determine with precision the entire extent of our globe.—Such knowledge can be the result only of many and long continued observations.—To the above particulars, we may add two opinions, which seem to belong to ancient times; one is that of the return of comets, and the other, that of the true arrangement of the celestial bodies [the Copernican system.] These could have proceeded only from a sound philosophy, aided by a long course of observations, and especially from a philosophy sufficiently matured to have removed the errors that cover truths so remote and refined.' vol. ii. pp. 448, 449.

As a further proof that the astronomy of the most ancient nations had not a distinct, separate origin among them, but was derived from their common ancestors, we are reminded of the singular conformity, that has been found to prevail so universally, as to the first principles of the science. The different nations into which the human race was divided had parcelled out the heavens in the same arbitrary and whimsical manner. We find every where a zodiac, divided into

the same number of constellations, and distinguished by similar names.

'How surprising it is that the name of Great Bear should have been given to the same northern constellation by a nation of America [the Iroquois], and by the most ancient people of Asia, from whom this name has passed to us. This constellation does not resemble a bear, nor any other animal.—What a surprising coincidence, that two people should agree in a thing so perfectly arbitrary.' vol. i. p 370.

But what is more remarkable still is, that the names of the planets are so generally applied to the days of the week.

'This is perhaps,' says Bailly, 'the most singular proof of the antiquity of astronomy, and of the existence of this people anterior to all others. The planets, which preside over the days of the week, were arranged in the order, which still exists among us, namely, first the Sun, then the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus,* and Saturn. This is found to be the same among the ancient Egyptians, Indians and Chinese. The order is not that of the distances, magnitude, or brightness of the planets; it is an order that is apparently arbitrary, or which, at least, is founded on reasons not known to us. It is not to be supposed, that chance should have conducted these three nations independently, first to the same idea of giving to the days of the week the names of the seven planets, and then of giving these names according to a particular arrangement selected from a thousand others.' vol. i. p. 27.

But our author draws his chief argument in support of this hypothesis from the present state of astronomy in India.

'The people of this country, we are told, may be regarded as the depositaries of the most precious remains of antiquity. These remains, moreover, are as pure, as they are ancient; for, in the indolence of the Indians, they possess without acquiring, and their pride prevents them from adopting any thing from others. They know nothing of causes; we find in one place the practice of observations without results, in another results without observations, methods, which the most intelligent employ without com-

* Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday with us are derived from Tuisco, Woden, Thor, and Freya, the Saxon names of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, and Venus. The days of the week in the East still correspond to ours. *Soma-var*, for instance, of the Indians, which signifies *day of the moon*, answers to our Monday. 'Yet no man,' says Sir William Jones, 'ever imagined that so remarkable an arrangement was borrowed from the Goths or Germans.'

prehending them, as foreigners retain a few phrases of a language they do not understand. From the total ignorance that prevails with regard to the principles of the science, we infer that the methods they use, are not the work of the people who practice them; it is not to be believed, that those principles on which they depend, could have been forgotten. The people may have lost the recollection of certain historical facts, and particular insulated branches of knowledge. But a science consists of a body of ideas, that mutually preserve and defend each other. It follows, therefore, that this kind of information, which they possess, has existed with the Indians from time immemorial.—We think that they have existed as a people, from the year 3553, before the christian era. It is the date deduced from the reign of their kings. But according to their own calculation their antiquity is beyond all probability. They allow for the duration of the world 4,320,000 years, which they divide into four periods. The first, the age of innocence, lasted 1,728,000 years; the second, 1,296,000 years; the third, 864,000 years; and the fourth, the age of calamity, that which is now passing, and which they call *Cali-Yug*, is to last 432,000 years. It is evident that these periods of the Indians are the origin of the four ages of the poets. Never has truth blended itself with error, or rather with fable, in a manner more easy to be distinguished. *The small number of years of the last period, proves that it contains a true chronological epoch, which ascends to the year* 3102 *before the christian era.*

'That which does the greatest credit to the Indians, is their method of calculating eclipses. It is very expeditious and sufficiently exact. The Bramins seem to be machines mounted to calculate eclipses. Their rules are in verse, and they recite them as they proceed. They make use of *cauris*, a kind of shell which is adopted as a coin in India. This mode of calculating has the advantage of being ready and expeditious; but it does not admit of the process being reviewed. The steps are destroyed as the work proceeds, and if a mistake is made, it is necessary to begin anew.

'Although those who concern themselves with astronomy, that is, the Bramins, may have a just idea of the new and full moon, yet the people, plunged in the most profound ignorance, explain these phases in their own way. They suppose that the moon is filled with ambrosia, and that the gods come to take their repast there, and this is what causes the diminution of its light. The regularity of the return shews that the provision is carefully renewed, and that the gods have their appetites under good regulation.

'The Bramins make the earth the centre of the universe; they imagine seven worlds, which are the planets, among which the

earth fixed upon a mountain of gold, occupies the principle place. They do not appear to be acquainted with the diurnal motion of the earth; they think that the stars move, and that they are a kind of fishes, because they move in ether as fishes do in water. This idea, which is without doubt only a figurative explanation, is more just and philosophical than that of the ancient Greeks, who supposed that the stars were attached like nails to the solid, spherical shell of the heavens. They reckon nine planets, namely, the seven which we have, and two invisible dragons, which are the cause of eclipses.' vol. i. pp. 48—54.

'It is a singular fact that the Indians place the moon farther off than the sun. That this opinion is not confined to the ignorant multitude, and that it is very confidently maintained, seems evident from the following incident. 'A Bramin of Tanjour, says Bailly, finding himself in prison with one of our missionaries, had long conferences with him, and he bore very patiently his refutation of idolatry, and all that he chose to say against the gods of the country; but when he saw that the missionary pretended that the sun was farther from us than the moon, *il se fâcha tout de bon*, he could bear it no longer, and refused to have any thing more to do with him.' vol. i. p. 55.

'Notwithstanding all the absurdities of the Indians, which form so striking a contrast to their refined methods of calculation, their pride is not less extraordinary. "They despise us Europeans," says M. Legentil, "and regard us as little better than savages." Proud of their cast, and of the antiquity of their knowledge, they can scarcely imagine that we cultivate the sciences, that we have universities, and academies as they have. This character of the Indians is a natural consequence of their ancient superiority; heirs of a primitive people, from whom they have received their sciences, they enjoyed for a long time the privilege of being the only enlightened nation in the world.' vol. i. pp. 49—56.

The accuracy of the astronomical periods and tables of the Indians could, it is presumed, be attained only by a more active, ingenious and persevering people, and by means of instruments, methods, and theories, that are no longer to be found, and of which there is no account or tradition. Hence, it is inferred, they must have been derived from a very ancient people, whose history and even name, are now lost. The present astronomical works of the East are, it is contended, the fruits of a more enlightened age, when the science was cultivated, as it is now cultivated in Europe; and the present race of Indians are like our almanac makers, able

to follow rules, which they never could have invented, and to obtain results, that they never would have dreamed of without the instructions of their masters.

The present state of astronomy in the East, particularly in India, is certainly a very singular phenomenon. It is but lately that we have been made acquainted with it, and we have probably yet much to learn respecting it; we are in want at least of more information before we can very satisfactorily make up our minds on the question as to its origin and antiquity. It seems to be agreed that the Indians have more accurate tables of the motions of the heavenly bodies, than we have known in Europe till within a short period, and that they have been in possession of them for a long time, and that they are constructed so differently from ours, that it is no ordinary labour for our best astronomers to decipher them. Their tables recognise the equation of time and the distinctions of solar and siderial year, solar and siderial day; they imply a knowledge not only of the obliquity of the ecliptic, of the precession of the equinoxes, of the motion of the nodes and apsides of the moon and planets, of the equation of the sun's centre, but of many minute irregularities in the celestial motions, that seem altogether beyond the skill and means of the present inhabitants of the country. It is true that they have amongst them a knowledge of arithmetic, of elementary geometry, and plain trigonometry, but are without the doctrine of the sphere, so essential to precision in all astronomical calculations. They appear moreover to be destitute not only of the telescope, but of all instruments of any value for measuring angles and time.

It is from facts of this kind, so difficult to reconcile upon any hypothesis, that Bailly infers the great antiquity of the Indian astronomy. But he undertakes to prove, by internal evidence, drawn from the tables themselves, that they must have been constructed about five thousand years ago. They claim to be thus ancient; they refer to an epoch 3102 years before the christian era, when, according to them, the planets were all in conjunction. Our own tables are resorted to as a test of the truth of this claim, and the result of the calculation is, it should seem, a confirmation of the hypothesis. It is contended, moreover, that there are certain elements in the Indian tables, far from being true now, but which were true, according to our theory of gravity, at the epoch supposed, and

must therefore have been the result of observations made at that time, since the possessors of these tables are without that theoretical knowledge which would be necessary to adapt them to the varying condition of the planetary orbits.

Not content with maintaining this enviable distinction of the nation in question, Bailly undertakes to show that the Greeks of Alexandria derived from this source no inconsiderable part of what we give them so much credit for discovering themselves, and that we ourselves, confessedly the pupils of the Greeks, are thus under obligations to this highly favoured people, and that we should do well to avail ourselves still farther of these valuable treasures, which have been so long concealed from the world.

The question as to the origin of a science, in many respects so matured, and yet so unlike that of any other nation, among a people apparently destitute of the means and ability to acquire it, has called forth much learning and ingenuity, without furnishing the means for a very satisfactory decision. The discussion would lead us into long and minute details and calculations in which few of our readers we fear would find interest enough to follow us. Since the time of Bailly, however, considerable light has been thrown upon this subject, which has tended more and more to expose the extravagance of his hypothesis, and to show how much it owed to the singular address and eloquence with which it was defended.

According to the Indian astronomers the planets were all in conjunction 3102 years before the christian era, and this epoch, says Bailly, was founded upon actual observation. Now from our own tables which are the best means we have of judging, it is necessary to except one of the planets entirely, and to allow a space of seventeen degrees, as the smallest limits within which the others were comprehended. The Indian tables, we are told, apply to the state of the heavens at this epoch, and the proof is derived from our own tables and theories, which it is admitted by the best judges, are not to be depended upon for a time so remote. Of what value then is this kind of evidence?

It is important to observe, that Bailly was not acquainted with the systems of astronomy in use among the Indians, or with the manner in which their tables are composed. It appears from the investigations of those who have long resided in the country, and who have had access to the best materials,

and best means of information, that the *Trivalore* tables used by Bailly, and which he supposed were about five thousand years old, 'were actually written and dated about five hundred and sixteen years ago; and that the mean annual motions given in that work were, *on the principles of the Hindu astronomy*, calculated to give the positions of the planets in the heavens at that time.—In most of the Hindu systems certain points back are fixed on, as epochs, at which the planets are *assumed* to fall into a line of mean conjunction with the sun in the beginning of Aries. From the points of time so assumed, as epochs, the Hindu astronomer carries on his calculations, as if they had been settled so by actual observation; and determines the mean annual motions which he must employ in his system, from thence, as [and which] will give the positions of the planets in his own time; as near as he is able to determine the same by observation.'*

This explanation of the Indian epoch appears farther probable from the practice of other astronomers. Ptolemy makes use of the era of Nabonassar, which began about 800 years before his time. Many modern astronomers have referred their calculations to the middle of the last century, and the epoch now used is the commencement of the present. Our Julian period is perfectly analogous to the Cali-Yug of the Indians; it ascends to 764 years before the creation, and the purpose of it is to make the cycle of the sun, that of the moon, and the indiction all begin at the same time.

But the question still returns, what is the age of the astronomical systems in question, and whence are they derived? If we ask the Indians themselves, they tell us, that they have eighteen works on astronomy, that were received by divine revelation, that the oldest of these, the *Suryá Siddhánta*, was given to them 2,164,899 years ago.† If we consult the works themselves on which these high pretensions are founded, we find no observations that are to be relied on, no documents to justify any very great antiquity. According to Mr. Bentley, who appears to have investigated this subject with great ability and fairness, the Indians have no book more than thirteen hundred years old, and they cannot be said to have had any considerable knowledge of astronomy earlier than the commence-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. pp. 541, 542.
† Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 540.

ment of the sixth century of our era.* The *Suryá Siddhánta* is generally acknowledged to be their most ancient astronomical work, and its age is deduced with great probability from internal evidence. It seems fair to presume that the tables would be more exact for the time when they were actually constructed, than for any other; and the computation made upon this assumption for the several planets independently gives for the largest result, 1105 years, for the smallest 340, for the mean of the whole 731 years, as the age of the above work. We should conclude from this that it was written about the middle of the eleventh century.

'But independent of all calculations, says Mr. Bentley, we know from Hindu books the age in which *Suryá Siddhánta* was written and by whom. In the commentary on the *Bhasvoti*, it is declared, that *Varáha* was the author of the *Suryá Siddhánta*. The *Bhasvoti* was written in the year 1021 of *Saka* [A. D. 1099] by one *Sotanund*, who according to Hindu accounts was a disciple of *Varáha*, and under whose directions he himself acknowledges he wrote that work. Consequently *Varáha* must have been then alive or else a very short time before it, which agrees as near as it possibly can be with the age above deduced.'†

From the best information we can obtain, therefore, there is little reason to believe that the Indians were in a condition to afford any valuable instruction to the Greeks. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that they had very little to impart till four centuries after the time of Ptolemy, and that their present astronomical works of the earliest date and greatest authority were not written before the middle of the eleventh century. At this time astronomy had been revived and cultivated for more than a century by the Arabians, had passed from the Arabians to the Persians, and from the Persians to the Tartars. What was there to prevent its passing into India? It is worthy of remark that the tropical year of the Indians is very nearly the mean between that of Ptolemy and the one used by Albitegnius. The same is to be observed with respect to the equation of the sun's centre. We have no doubt that the Greeks are entitled to that which we ascribe to them, because they have furnished us with the observations, the instruments and methods by which they attained it. This

* Asiatic Researches, vol. viii. art. 6.
† Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 577.

evidence is for the most part wanting with respect to the Indians. Perhaps it is yet to be learned. They appear to have many books relating to astronomy. They have a better arithmetic than the Greeks. Their algebra amounts to about as much as is taught in our public seminaries. These are not borrowed from the Greeks. Their astronomy also has strong marks of originality. It is not easy to imagine how they could have acquired it, with their means and their habits. On the supposition that it is derived from their neighbours, it is scarcely less difficult to conceive how they could have disguised it to such a degree. There is no doubt that they were acquainted with certain astronomical periods, that they cultivated astronomy to a certain degree, long before the time of which we have been speaking, and there seems to be as little doubt, that their present tables have been formed, or at least corrected, in modern times.

There is on the whole no prospect we think, of our deriving from the East any accession to our present stock of astronomical science; and the question seems reduced to a matter of curious speculation merely. We regret that the slight attention we have given it has left us so little room to notice some admirable discourses which terminate the work before us, and constitute not the least considerable part of its value. The first of these discourses is upon the origin of astrology, in which the author undertakes to refute what he conceives to be a prevalent error upon this subject.

'It is said that astrology is the daughter of ignorance and the mother of astronomy. It is thus that ideas are confounded. Astronomy is certainly the oldest. It is astronomy, that is the wise mother of a foolish daughter. It was necessary to know the stars before we could attribute to them any influence over us. It was necessary to have an idea of their motions and revolutions, before we could refer to them the destinies of men, and the chain of events in one's life.

'It is no less a mistake to suppose that astrology arose from ignorance. Astrology prevails more undoubtedly in barbarous times, when credulity joins itself to the natural curiosity of man. Astrology flourishes in the midst of ignorance, as in its natural soil. But ignorance never produced the germ of evil which it nourishes. Ignorance is a passive state. The sciences, arts, fables, errors, prejudices, superstitions, evil as well as good, all come from genius. A single luminary by its heat and attraction

spreads life and motion through the universe. Genius is the sun which gives activity to the moral world.

'There are two kinds of astrology, natural and judicial. The object of the former is, from a knowledge of the causes acting upon the earth and its atmosphere, to foresee and announce the changes of the seasons, rain, winds, cold, heat, abundance, scarcity, diseases, &c. The latter is occupied with objects still more interesting. It delineates at the moment of our birth or some other moment of life, the course we are to pursue. It determines the character we are to receive from the author of nature, and the passions which are to agitate us It shows from a distance evil and good, the perils that await us, and the actions we are to perform. If it were a true science, man, too well acquainted with his destiny, would have only to repeat upon the stage of life the part he had learned.—It will be thought perhaps that ignorance, by perverting the principles of natural astrology, has given rise to judicial astrology, that it has subjected man as well as the atmosphere to the power of the stars, and made their influence extend to the storms of the passions and the vicissitudes of fortune, as well as to the inclemencies of the seasons. Indeed it seems very natural to say, it is the stars, the heavenly bodies generally, that produce winds, rain and storms, their influence combined with the action of the sun's rays, modify cold and heat. The fertility of the country, health and sickness, depend upon their good or bad influences. A blade of grass does not spring up, but all the stars contribute to its growth. Man breathes only the emanations with which the stars fill the atmosphere. Man as well as nature is subject to them. The celestial bodies must have an influence upon his will, upon the good and evil scattered in his path, and finally determine his death as well as his life. It is well that we can reason thus; but it is not ignorance, it is not the people, who have taken this step. The idea respecting this subjection, which makes man only a blind instrument, is an abuse of the understanding. It is the imagination that deceives the reason. It should be carefully observed that judicial astrology is an observation, natural astrology a system. The people do not make systems; it is the work of the learned, of philosophers who wander sometimes from the noble purpose of searching after truth. The transition from natural astrology to judicial supposes a principle which has not been perceived, one which confounds the soul with the body, mind with matter. Is a principle the work of the people? Is it the people who have reasoned upon the two substances in order to confound them? They either do not know or do not distinguish them.—

'When society had commenced, and civil institutions had given

some degree of enlargement and foresight to the thoughts, when industry had insured an easy subsistence, man, freed from his cares, began to know the evils of mind, the greatest of all evils; the present was no longer of any value; hope and fear carried him to the future; he felt the desire of knowing it; but he perceived at the same time, that the means of knowing it were not in his power. Whatever may be the propensities men have, some to credulity and others to abuse it, the art of predicting the future has not arisen from the design to deceive men. The idea of this art was a bold thought; the invention of the means, erroneous as they are, must have been the work of genius. Genius has imitators, but it is alone the author of original ideas. When it had once been made known to men that the future might be foretold by the motions of the stars, the desire of deceiving, and of deceiving without science and without calculation, gave rise to different kinds of divination, by the features of the face, by the lines of the hand, by grains of sand thrown at random, by the flight of birds and the entrails of victims; in fine, the dead have been invoked, that which is no more has been appealed to concerning that which is yet to be.—It would be easy to show that all vulgar errors, the prejudices of the people, arise from philosophical ideas, misapplied, and perverted by tradition. Local and tutelary divinities were undoubtedly only the emblems used by philosophers to designate those second causes which depend upon the universal cause. The two principles, adored and feared in Persia, represent physically the elements that oppose each other, morally the contending passions. This idea is borrowed from the natural world, where all is at war. The circulation of matter, the renewal of beings under new forms, gave rise to the doctrine of metempsychosis, which was transferred from material to intellectual beings, when it became desirable to reconcile this dogma with the immortality of the soul.' vol. i. pp. 162—170.

The other discourses of our author treat of the progress which astronomy has made, and which it may yet be expected to make, of the manner of writing a history of this science, of the origin of the constellations, of the nature of the stars, &c. These abound with original reflections, and like all the other parts of the work, are distinguished by a style and manner that are rarely found in treatises upon these subjects. The following view of the science of geometry will serve to illustrate these remarks.

'All things which exist in the universe, either at the same time or successively, have extension for the mode of their exis-

tence. Space, which embraces all points, all places, all the bounds of the physical world; motion, which passes over this space, belongs to it, is measured by it and seems to resemble it; time, which is marked by the succession of things, which exists from their commencement to their termination, which embraces the universe in its changes, as space contains it in its permanency, every thing is extended merely; physical extension which is before us, which the eye can distinguish and pass over, intellectual extension, which man can render present to his mind and which can be perceived and measured by the understanding only; see the province of geometry, it is here that it is great, that it is vast as the universe; miraculous work of human reason! Men have here concentrated all the ideas of order and justness that they have received from the heavens. If it has its limits like the human mind, in like manner it always rises with it, and from its elevation surveys all times and all places, measuring equally the portions of fleeting duration, and those of present visible matter.

Geometry was formerly only the art of measuring land and fixing its boundaries. It was humble and contracted. It had nothing great but its name. Thus Plato laughed at the arrogant title it assumed of *measure of the earth*, at a time when the earth was almost entirely unknown. It was not long before this science made rapid progress in the hands of Plato himself and his disciples. It had as yet been applied only to surfaces. It was soon extended to the three dimensions of matter, and bodies were embraced by it. It was not long restricted to the consideration of straight lines, or to surfaces and solids bounded by these lines. From the sections of a cone were derived four curves, the circle, the ellipse, the parabola, and hyperbola. This new subject was an important step in the science. While the straight line advances by the shortest way, and seems to extend itself by equal and similar steps, directed with an invariable design to the same object, the curved line is composed of sinuosities and doublings, each step exhibits a change of purpose and tendency. Several causes must concur in its formation. It must evidently depend upon a law more complicated. This law is contained in certain fundamental properties. The Greeks studied and made known these properties, or the characters of the four curves we have mentioned, the most simple of all and indeed the only ones known at this time. They investigated them without foreseeing how important they were destined to become. When algebra was applied to geometry by the happy thought of Descartes, the properties which determine each curve were described by abstract signs, by algebraic characters. This union of the two sciences enlarged our resources. Newton, the inventor of the differential calculus, did not finish the work, which perhaps is not to be finished by

man. We see therefore that every thing reduces itself to the means which geometry furnishes. What is it which this science proposes? The measure of every thing which exists in the sensible world. That which exists is the work of nature, who has concealed throughout the simplicity of her principles under a variety of phenomena of nature, who, by opposing secondary principles, by making one thing act upon another, has appeared to disturb the prevailing uniformity and regularity, and has nowhere made two forms alike, or one that is regular. Man loses himself in this infinite variety. That which is much compounded is no longer regular with respect to him. He requires simple things and such as may be arranged according to his manner of conceiving them. We have undertaken, in order to study nature, to measure her works, by applying to them the figures of geometry, the regular forms of which we know the law. Able to multiply and vary these almost at pleasure, we can, by repeated attempts, imitate in our measures, the things we would know, we can approach in our copy of this grand model, almost as near as we please to the original, without ever reaching it perfectly. Indeed although the world presents no where lines absolutely straight, surfaces exactly plain, regular triangles, squares or cubes, perfect circles, ellipses, or parabolas, we measure by means of these figures an infinite variety of spaces that depart from them but a little; and when we endeavour thus to descend to details and to reach more nearly the truth of things, we require forms less simple and curvatures more complicated, to appreciate these very departures.

Moreover, when Newton applied geometry to the mechanical phenomena of the heavens, and raised the science to this great height, it became necessary to compare together things that are not of the same nature. Motion takes place in space, it lasts for a time, it has a velocity. Space, time, velocity, have no resemblance to each other. If velocity is the more rapid, according as the space passed over is greater, and the time employed less, what relation have time and space with each other? Yet geometry can be applied only to relations and equalities. We arrive at a comparison between things of a nature so different, by establishing for each of them a different modulus, a particular unit; and when we compare velocities, times and spaces, the comparison of each of these quantities with its particular modulus is always understood. We say for instance with respect to motions that are uniform, that when the times are equal, the spaces are as the velocities. These suppositions together with a few simple principles make the basis of the science of bodies in motion, a science created by Newton, and called dynamics, but which we have here comprehended under the general denomination of geometry.' vol. ii. pp. 378—383.

The other discourses of our author are distinguished by the same original manner of thinking and writing. This part of the work is free from that spirit of system which pervades and mars a very considerable proportion of the rest. The great excellence of the whole is, that without being superficial it is adapted to common readers and calculated to interest them. The author selected the most striking parts of his subject, and has presented them with great amplification, and great force and beauty of language. Many may here become acquainted with the leading truths of the science, and may be made to feel their importance and sublimity with very little exertion and little preparatory study.

ART. IX.—*A Letter on the Yellow Fever of the West Indies. By Daniel Osgood, M. D. Practitioner of Medicine in the city of Havana.* pp. 72. E. Bliss, New York, 1820.

SINCE the notice which was taken of the subject of the contagion of yellow fever, in our number for April last, we have received still further confirmation of the general correctness of the opinions which were then expressed. The circumstances connected with the appearance of this disease, in some of our cities the last summer, furnish very decisive evidence that it was not propagated by contagion.

In Philadelphia, where the health regulations were last year entirely founded upon the supposition of contagion, the good effects of acting upon a contrary belief this year, while the fever prevailed there, seem to have removed almost every fear of its possessing any such property. If it were true that those who are affected by it communicate the disease by its contagious poison to those about them, what method could be devised more calculated to spread the disease in every direction, than removing the sick, and scattering them among those in health? Yet it is well known to every one, how opposite to this was the result in Philadelphia, as it was in other places the previous year. It cannot be doubted that it is owing to the wise precaution of removing all persons, both sick and well, from the sickly neighbourhood, that the ravages of the disease were so limited and so speedily checked. Had the same course been adopted, that was pursued in the fever of 1793, there is much reason to apprehend that the disease would have been equally destructive.

In New York the very rigour of their quarantine and non-intercourse system has furnished some striking proofs of its inefficiency and uselessness. Not the formidable parade of proclamations prohibiting the entrance into the city of any person or thing, which had been within thirty days in Philadelphia, not the city marshals posted at every avenue to enforce the exclusion, nor the keenness of perception of the health physician, so sharpened by his apprehensions as to espy symptoms of yellow fever in the common effects of a debauch, could prevent the introduction of a few cases of the disease. And yet it was not communicated, even to the friends and attendants of the sick.

There is a curious contrast of circumstances, as they occurred in New York and in Baltimore, while the alarm of fever prevailed in Philadelphia. In the former city, while every thing coming from the seat of the disease was excluded with a vigilance worthy of a better cause, several cases of the fever occurred, and the whole city seemed constantly in a state of agitation and alarm; but in the latter, with no interruption to the free communication with Philadelphia, there appears to have been no case of the disease, and no apprehension or alarm. We confess we feel very little sympathy for the disappointment of the friends of contagion in New York, in the failure of their prohibitory schemes. Had they been willing to learn it, the occurrences of the previous year would have taught them the impolicy of relying upon such means of prevention. We cannot, however, but lament their want of success in their attempt to check the progress of another disease, for which it seems the quarantine system is unfortunately equally ineffectual. Happy would it have been for New York, happy for our country, had this experiment but succeeded, and proved that the dreadful contagion of intemperance could be destroyed by a thirty days' quarantine.

The author of the pamphlet before us has not entered into a discussion of the question respecting the contagious nature of yellow fever. He, however, very fully declares his opinion against the supposition of contagion. In an introductory letter to Dr. Perkins he says,

'Although, as you will perceive, I have rather avoided all controversial remarks, on the identity of the disease in different countries, and on the question whether it be from a contagious cause or not, yet I feel it my duty, so far to answer your inquiries on

these points, as here to state, that, regarding its character both within the tropics, and in the higher latitudes, where I have been acquainted with it, I have not been able to discover any other varieties of its symptoms, than such as I conceived to have arisen from the differences of constitution, exposure and treatment in those affected by it, and from changes in the weather. *Nor have I seen an instance, during nearly twenty years' constant practice in this disease, in which it appeared to me to be communicated from one person to another; or of its having originated from any exposure whatever, except in places peculiarly circumstanced.*' p. iv.

The experience of a man of observation, during so long and extensive a course of practice, might justly be relied upon as of much authority in a question of this sort, and were it not for the overflowing abundance of proof, of a more positive nature, of the absence of contagion in this disease, we might quote this declaration as a farther confirmation of the correctness of our positions.

The principal design of this pamphlet appears to be to give the observations which the author's practice has enabled him to make on the symptoms and character of the yellow fever and the mode of treatment best adapted to it. As the nature of the disease has been so fully investigated and described by a great variety of physicians, much originality were not to be expected, especially as the author has not accompanied his description by any dissections, by way of illustration of its character. It is in this more than in any other particular, that our knowledge of the phenomena of the disease is deficient. The description of the symptoms and cure is clear and satisfactory. One feels as he reads it, that the author is relating what he has himself seen and done, and not what he has learned from others.

Probably few physicians of the present day would entirely agree with our author, as to the causes of yellow fever. His account of the manner in which these causes operate to produce the disease is in true Brunonian style.

'In situations,' he remarks, 'and under circumstances before described, as exposing to the yellow fever, the subjects experience, for a while, an increased excitement in all the organs of the body, whether animal, natural, or vital; expending the excitability equally throughout the whole system; but subsequently the stimulus of heat, &c. acting directly on the organs of the vital

functions, continues to support their increased excitement, while the organs of the animal and natural functions have their excitability still wasted, without a proportionate supply of the same stimuli. This state of the system clearly constitutes the disease in its more moderate degree; but when the malignant form occurs, it happens from an early derangement in all the functions together, by a direct exhaustion of the general excitability.' p. 26.

It is unnecessary, although it would be easy, to show how far this is from an explanation of the phenomena of the disease.

By far the most important part of this treatise, in our view, is the section on the *Prevention* of the yellow fever. Thousands of persons go from this country and other temperate climates to the West Indies, and are there cut off in a short time by this formidable disease. Many of these lives might doubtless be saved, if a proper course of regimen were followed, during the earlier period of their exposure in a tropical climate. We could wish that some person as well qualified for the task, as the author of this letter, might be induced to pursue this subject further, in a form adapted to the situation of the classes of people most nearly interested in it. It is not to physicians, but to merchants and seamen that such a work should be chiefly addressed. It should therefore be a distinct treatise, and independent of all such speculations as are interesting only to physicians. Such a treatise if properly executed, we are persuaded would be extensively useful, and furnish an ample remuneration for the labours of its author.

Appended to the letter of Dr. Osgood is an 'extract of a letter from Cyrus Perkins M. D. city of New York,' on the distinction between contagion and infection. Although we are not quite satisfied with the common use of the term *infection*, we are not disposed to question the general accuracy of this gentleman's opinion on the subject. But there is one remark which appears to us entitled to a more distinct notice. 'For my own part,' he says, 'although I early made up an opinion on the subject, I never had so chivalrous a disposition as to enter the lists for making proselytes. And I have often thought, that, if the disputants by way of preliminary, were first to agree on a precise definition of terms, they would find but little left to dispute about.'

Although we claim to ourselves no credit for heroism, in the free disclosure of our views on this important subject, yet we do not much wonder that the timidity of the author on this point should lead him to regard it as an effort of chivalry to declare an opinion on this question in New York, where the denial of the doctrine of contagion would scarcely fail to subject him to illiberal sarcasm and personal abuse in the public papers of that city. But we cannot agree with him that the discussion of this question is a mere dispute about words. It is true that the word *contagion* has often been loosely and inaccurately used. Still, whatever meaning may be attached to the term, the question remains, whether the yellow fever is disseminated by some property which is generated by the disease itself, or arises in each individual case from some cause, independent of the previous existence of the disease. And this question is of immense practical importance. Every measure of protection against the ravages of this desolating epidemic is deeply affected by it; and the propriety of the measure is determined by the correctness of the answer to the question. It is not a question of words merely, whether we are still to rely upon quarantines, and lazarettos, and non-intercourse, as our safeguard, or to seek out and remove such local objects as contaminate the purity of the atmosphere. It is not a question of words only, whether we may safely receive into our families those who are fleeing from before the pestilence, or whether we shall shut our doors upon them, lest we should share their danger of becoming its victims.

E. Everett

ART. X.—*Ueber die Epochen der bildenden Kunst unter den Griechen. Von Friederich Thiersch, Zweyte Abhandlung, die Epoche der Kunstentwicklung enthaltend.* München 1819.——*On the Epochs of the plastic Art among the Greeks, by Frederic Thiersch. The second essay containing the periods of the development of the art. A memoir read in a public meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, Oct.* 12, 1819, *on occasion of the birth day of his Majesty the King.* 4to. pp. 76.*

* We have taken the liberty in this article to use the expression 'the Art' in a sense which, though not common in English, is familiar on the continent, which will sufficiently define itself when it occurs, and which avoids an inconvenient periphrasis.

THERE is nothing perhaps, in which our country is so plainly deficient, as the means of pursuing the study of the subject, which is treated in this memoir; we might perhaps say, in general, as in the state of the fine arts. We have produced, it is true, some of the most celebrated modern painters, and have been able to retain some of them in their native land. To have given birth to West and Copley, and to possess Stuart and Allston, is certainly to have contributed our share and more than our share to the painting of the age. But this is not all, which we want, even for this one department of the arts. Public collections of the great masters and valuable cabinet pieces from their immortal pencils are unknown among us; and of course the acquisition of the liberal ideas awakened by their inspection and study, forms no part of a finished education in our country. It would be preposterous to charge that upon us as a wanton neglect, or a piece of voluntary vandalism, which is wholly unavoidable. It is well known that pictures of any considerable interest are not to be bought in Europe, except by mere chance, and at enormous prices: and though great estates are certainly acquired in our country, yet it must be remembered that they are charged with a burden, unknown in the feudal families of the old world, the custom of an equal distribution among a family of children. One picture of Raphael would exceed in price a son's patrimony or a daughter's portion, in the richest family of the United States. A hundred years ago, the little Corregio at Dresden, a picture not a foot square, was sold for 13,000 gold ducats, and when a certain powerful monarch told the Duke of Tuscany that he would give him 8000 crowns for the Madonna della Seggiola at Florence, the duke replied that for another such picture, he would give his majesty 80,000. The small picture of Acteon belonging to the late Mr. West and ascribed to Titian, but which we have high authority for doubting to be that master's, it is fresh in the knowledge of our readers, sold for about 8000 dollars; while Mr. West refused 50,000 for his own last picture but one. In this state of things, it is evident that the people of America must give up the homely practice of making more than one child comfortable in the world, or they must say with the mother of the Gracchi, 'these are my pictures;' and let the Titians and the Raphaels remain in Europe.

From another great source we are also cut off, from which the public collections and the galleries of the great have sometimes been replenished in Europe. Our armies have had no Ausonian, no Andalusian regions to sweep. From our contests with the Seminoles and Winnebagoes, we bring back nothing better than hard blows, and cessions of wild lands, and return from arduous campaigns without picture or statue. This certainly is not our fault, but the inherent vice of the warfare: and of those abroad who reproach us for not coming back from Tippecanoe or Pensacola, as richly laden with works of art as a French army from Italy, or an English general from Spain, we can only ask whether they think this is voluntary on our part, and say as Demosthenes did to the Athenians of Philip: 'Is there any one so foolish as to suppose that Philip really prefers the beans and vetches of the miserable villages of Thrace, to the Athenian mines and arsenals?' This only we think we can answer for, that there is already taste enough in our country to prize such precious booty should any chance of war throw it in our power, though there would be respectable precedents for being insensible to their worth. Honest Mummius, who sacked Corinth, has perhaps been laughed at too much, for telling the soldiers, to whom he gave in charge the pictures of Parrhasius, that if they injured or lost them, they should restore others as good. At least there seems a milder species of barbarism in this, than prevailed in the army of the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, that Lion of the North whom Major Dalgetty has so extensively introduced to our readers, whose refined Swedes cut the pictures of Corregio from their frames, to cover their baggage wagons withal; which said pictures, that they might do every possible service, were afterwards nailed up, to keep the snow out of her majesty of Sweden's stables. For all which proofs of interest in the arts, the honest Swedes have been remembered by the amateurs, in much the same affectionate way, that the rocket-maker at Alcala, who wrought up the Greek manuscripts of the Complutensian polyglott, into cartridges for his fireworks, has been remembered by the biblical critics.

But though it must be confessed that we are deficient in the means of forming or diffusing a highly cultivated taste in painting in our country, something may yet be hoped, something may gradually be done, even in the ancient school;

while the modern really bids fair to flourish among us. With regard to ancient pictures, a few occasionally find and will find their way to our shores: and we have observed with great pleasure, that the exhibitions at Philadelphia have sometimes been enriched by the loan of valuable specimens of the ancient masters from the gallery of the distinguished stranger, in that neighbourhood, who probably possesses more treasures of this description, than are to be found throughout the rest of the United States. Small pictures of interest of the Dutch school are not very rare among us, and whatever of this kind does reach our shores is happily likely to remain. At least, we hope, that the calculation, which not many years ago exported two reputed pictures of Salvator Rosa from America to London, will not be often repeated.

The modern school of painting, as we have said, bids fair to flourish among us, and that not merely from flattering pretty faces and appealing to personal vanity, but in the historic department of the art. We hope we do not go out of our way to pay a compliment to our fellow citizen, who has now founded upon a series of works, that have stood the test of English and of American criticism, the reputation of being the first historical painter living. We should be glad to have the work of Cammucini at Rome, or Girard at Paris, or David at Brussels indicated, that deserves to be preferred to Mr. Allston's Uriel, Jacob's Vision, or Jeremiah. In England, certainly he has left behind him no rival in this branch of his art.

In architecture and statuary, the two other great departments of the art, little has been done among us of an original character: more in architecture, as might have been expected, than in statuary, since we must have houses, churches, capitols, and theatres. But little as we have done upon the whole, we have perhaps even here done our share. Modern Europe has produced scarce a building, which is approved by nice judges. Each new architect seems inspired with a zeal to add one more to the list of buildings in false taste, which he with all the world condemns; and when one has wandered through the streets of Rome, and gazed on the theatrical curves, and false fronts of Borromini, built up almost under the shadow of the Pantheon, it seems an undue severity to sneer at our transatlantic rudeness. St. Peter's itself is the glory and shame of the art. An edifice of ordinary dimen-

sions, a common parish church, which should retain in exact miniature the proportions and plan of St. Peter's, would have no claim to the praise of extraordinary beauty. It is the power of man, piling these wonderful masses in the air, suspending a cupola of a hundred and twenty feet diameter, and of sides twenty-two feet in thickness, at a distance of three or four hundred feet from the ground, and finding the means to resist this portentous gravitation; it is this, and the brazen columns of the canopy, the ample walls incrusted with beautiful marbles, the vast extent of the edifice, whose side chapels accommodate a worshipping congregation; the curious Mosaics with which it is lined; the gorgeous monuments and mausoleums of popes, and princes, and fugitive sovereigns; the reputed ashes of apostles and martyrs in the vaults; the banks of the Tiber, on which it stands, and a portion of that enthusiasm, which clings to the name of Rome; with the remembrance of the labours of centuries, and the treasures of kingdoms exhausted on the mighty pile; it is all this, which contributes not a little to the admiration with which St. Peter's is viewed. But this belongs to the region of sentiment, or association, and not the arts. It is mechanics and not architecture, the powers of enginery, not the principles of taste which piled the dome of St. Peter's on pillars, each as large as a common house. This is not the architecture which we wish to have in our country. The Egyptians had more of it, when they rolled their colossal stones up the sides of the pyramids. The Druids on Salisbury plain had as much, when they piled up the enormous masses of Stone-henge, unless we believe Inigo Jones, who saith in his work on that paradoxical fragment of antiquity, that with good engines and by the grace of God, he could raise stones as great or greater. In fact, we think, that the remark of Visconti with regard to St. Peter's, diffident as we should feel in contradicting any serious opinion of that illustrious archaiologist, has scarce any merit, but its smartness. It is well known that St. Peter's requires for its preservation considerable annual repairs. The foundation under the front, notwithstanding the efforts which have been made, at various times, to strengthen it, was from the first so imperfectly laid, that a large crack runs up and down one of the gigantic pilasters or rather pillars of the front. The cupola also has opened in several places. To prevent the increase of these defects, constant repairs are necessary. When

in the severe French times, it was represented to Visconti, who had the charge of the public buildings, that if St. Peter's were not repaired at considerable expense, it would fall, he coolly replied, that 'it would make a fine ruin.' As it stands, it is a venerable, an awful building. The heart bows down, before its majestic front, and feels as feeble as it ought in the temple of the Most High, as you wander along beneath the sublime arches of the interior, or turn a dizzy gaze upward to the dome. But 'a fine ruin' it would not make. Once fallen, let the earthquakes, which for two thousand years have left the Parthenon and the temple of Theseus, as they found them,—let them but shake out the key-stones of the dome or the nave of St. Peter's, and what have you but a chaos of uncouth and shapeless ruins, without one graceful column to rise above, and bear witness to what had been; without one beautiful marble capital, over which an enthusiast could meditate, nothing but a broken quarry of coarse calcareous rock? The ancient ruins *are* beautiful; the lapse of time, the convulsions of nature, the storms of war, the violence of the barbarians, have not impaired their beauty. The inmost stone of the darkest corner of the cell of the Parthenon presents a smooth polished surface of beautiful white marble. So long as one fluted fragment of a doric column remains on the spot where that temple stood, it will be as impossible to doubt the beauty of the exquisite structure to which it belonged, as the first morning that the scaffolds were thrown down, and the work of Phidias and Ictinus stood glittering and blazing in a Grecian sun. It was built nearly four hundred and fifty years before Christ, and much we doubt there were small appropriations to keep it in repair, after the Roman yoke of iron fell upon Athens, or in the night of the middle ages. In 1686, it went through the trifling ordeal of being bombarded with red hot shot by the Venetian cannon, and having a powder magazine within its walls blown up; and even after this, the columns which support the front are less shattered than the false pillars of the façade of St. Peter's, which are cracking from their own weight and the weakness of the foundation. If then the proudest edifices of modern art can scarce bear a comparison with the Grecian ruins, what will the former appear, when time and violence have done their work upon them; when the marbles that incrust them are stripped off; when their ponderous arches are fallen; and in their inner structure, instead of polished blocks

of Pentelican marble, nothing will appear to testify to their former glory, but a base chaos of unseemly stones, filled up with bricks and pozzolana.

But we have been betrayed beyond our design. We meant to maintain here not the inferiority of modern masonry and workmanship, but of modern taste; though we suppose it all hangs together, and has its origin in the same superficial theatrical character in the modern world, which has taken place of the ancient solidity. The example of Michael Angelo, in the wonder of St. Peter's, has proved a rock on which the taste of his successors has split, who have been far more anxious to imitate him than the chaster Palladio. Acting on a small sphere, where it was impossible to give their works that in which the power and glory of his reside, their portentous magnitude and grandeur, they have copied the inherent faults of his style; supported their little roofs with ungraceful arcades: and led away by an impatient desire, still farther to innovate and be original, they have fallen by degrees into the fantastic vagaries of the school of Borromini, and fitted up the front of a church like Fatima's arbor, in the farce, or the entrance to a tea garden. Each new school, and new generation has shown itself equally fruitful in reproaches of its predecessors and new errors of its own; and even Milizia, whose theory is so severe and classical, when employed himself to direct the repairs of a Roman church, is said to have done nothing, which was not in contradiction to his own rules. There are perhaps therefore in our country as many buildings in a good taste as could proportionally be demanded of us. There are not many palaces in Europe, with which the President's house at Washington might not well bear a comparison, for its design; though we have to regret that we are unable to extend this commendation to the magnificent pile, which is erecting on the hill, about a mile from it. The interior indeed of the national capitol, the senate and representatives' chamber are quite the finest public halls we have ever had an opportunity of seeing; and whatever may be said of the proportions of the columns in the latter, or the adaptation of the apartment to the purposes of a deliberative assembly, it is, we doubt not, the most splendid public hall in the world; and it is much to be regretted that motives of convenience make it necessary to mar its grandeur, by so unseemly an appendage as the canopy to the speaker's chair. The senate

chamber, though less imposing, is perhaps still more agreeable to the eye; nor is St. Stephen's or the chamber of the deputies at Paris to be compared a moment with either of them. The hall of the assembly at Cassel, fitted up in the Westphalian reign, is one of the finest legislative chambers in Europe, though likely, we fear, to be of little practical use to the loving subjects of his present royal highness, the elector. The new church in Baltimore, the Pennsylvania bank in Philadelphia, with the United States bank, if finished according to its plan, with the front of St. Paul's in Boston, are all quite equal to, and some of them beyond the best specimens of modern European architecture, and worthy to be compared with the church of St. Geneviève at Paris, which without being ignorant of the objections made to it, we are free to confess more agreeable to our eyes than any modern building, which now occurs to us.

In the modern Gothic we are poor in America, if any thing could deserve the name of rich, in this application. For though it is impossible not to be delighted with such an edifice as Eaton hall, near Chester, yet, after all, the modern Gothic is a sort of theatrical taste, which we are unable wholly to approve; so much at variance does it seem with the spirit of the age. For the genuine Gothic we have an unmingled veneration; the Gothic of York minster, of the chapel of King's College Cambridge, of the cathedrals at Cologne and Amiens, and the exterior of the cathedral at Milan. It is impossible not to be filled with reverence at the sight of any of these. Next to the Grecian, we hold the old Gothic to be far the most pure and noble of all the styles of architecture; and it is a singular mark of liberality and good judgment in Milizia, when one considers the extreme dislike of the Italians to this style, that he unequivocally gives it the preference to any of the ancient or modern Roman innovations on the Greek purity. It is not to be placed on a level with the Greek, because the Greek excels it in the merits which are common to both, and which make the beauty of both, in its plain surfaces and majestic colonnades; and because the finical ornament, into which the Gothic runs, is wholly at variance with the simplicity, which is, after all, its characteristic principle. There are, moreover, some blemishes in the Gothic, which arise from association. A buttress, however the eye by habit may grow fond of it in antiquated buildings, when considered as an

unwieldy substitute for skilful masonry, and as a contrivance to keep the walls from falling apart, is no pleasant object for the eye.

In statuary, we fear our account stands less fairly than in either of the other arts; nor do we yet seem to have caught the spirit so extensively prevailing in Europe for this admirable art. Fifty years ago, and so low had the art sunk in Europe, with perhaps the single exception of Roubiliac in England, that it would have been not a shame but a glory to have borne no part in the prevailing taste. But in nothing has the present generation so closely imitated the Greeks, and in nothing has it come so near rivalling them. The masters have at length, as it should seem, discovered, that to equal the ancients, it is requisite, not to hit upon some new form which may lay claim to the worthless boast of fantastic originality, but to go beyond them, in that direction, which so long and bright an experience had proved to be the true one. The good modern statuary is indeed wholly in Grecian taste; that of Canova less so than that of his rival Thorwaldsen, whose taste however is not so delicate as it is severe, and who fatigues you with a certain northern heaviness in his forms. Chantry's style is purely Greek, that is, purely natural, as nature was observed in a lovely climate, in a free country, among an athletic, cheerful race of men, trained to healthy gymnastic exercises, and among whom the arts were crowned with the most princely rewards. It is not an admirable style because it is Grecian, but because it is natural; natural, not according to the vulgar nature of the wretch who is hired as a subject for the drawing room of the artist, but according to the nature of the most refined and polished community that ever existed. It detracts nothing from the justice of our remark of Mr. Chantry's style, that he happens unluckily to be led away by a sound; and thinks it necessary to clothe the works of his classical chisel in the motley fashions of the day. His taste and skill are equal to the triumph over the obstacles which his theory of costume imposes, and he knows how to make his modern English coats and small clothes cling to the form and reveal its proportions, almost as fully as they would have been disclosed by the ancients. It is amusing enough, to be sure, to hear *such* modern costume as this, such *ideal tailoring*, recommended upon the score of its being true to life; when, if Mr. Horner had come into parliament with such a suit of clothes and such a gown, as Mr. Chan-

try has put upon him, he would have excited nearly as much surprise, as if a Roman or Grecian had risen up before them in his robes.

It is sincerely to be regretted that we have not more means among us for forming a taste for the antique, and for the study of the beautiful remains of Grecian art. It may certainly be maintained, without exaggeration, that these beautiful remains are the most authentic legacy, which we have received from the glorious world that went before us. The admirable writings, which have descended to us from them, are indeed invaluable. It elevates the spirit to think that you are perusing the works of the great masters of wisdom, and poetry, and learning, from ages so long elapsed. But it is impossible to know perfectly more than one tongue, and the mind struggles too often in vain against the obstacles of a difficult language. The imagination too faints under the mass of illustrative learning, which is necessary for the perfect comprehension of their works, and we are mortified at being obliged to turn from pages, which we know once enchained the attention of the politest and most accomplished heares, with a sort of misty veil before our minds, which we cannot draw away, and which gives a vagueness to all that is seen through it. But a beautiful temple, or column of a temple, or ancient statue, or relievo, is an object on which we can gaze with all the freshness both of sense and emotion, that belonged to the age of its production. There is no medium of another language through which we must penetrate ; and with the exception of a few points, in regard to which the modern taste has essentially departed from the ancient, we are prepared to see such a work, as it was seen by the ancients themselves. Hence the well founded enthusiasm which grows out of the study of these remains of antiquity.

It need not be said that the insensibility to this species of beauty and the want of that deeper and finer insight into the whole ancient character, which results from this insensibility, are great defects in our education in this country ; defects that call aloud for remedy. There are now preserved in the world some scores of most beautiful ancient works. Though of single and separate statues, scarce any thing has escaped the ravages of time, which bears authentically the most illustrious names of antiquity, yet something there is even of this highest order, and a large succession of other works of admi-

rable beauty. These, in their originals, we cannot of course have. All the resources of Europe, wielded by the mighty arm of Napoleon, were able to win from their Italian abodes, but for a short season, the choice works of the ancient chisel. After a short sojourn at Paris, the Apollo, and the Venus, and the Laocoon have gone back to Florence and Rome. But of all the works of ancient art fine casts in plaster exist, in no degree inferior to the originals, for the common purposes of taste, and quite as valuable as instruments of acquiring a familiarity with the style and principles of ancient art. That no collection of these should have been formed in our northern metropolis is a matter of just reproach to Boston; and one which we hope will not long be suffered to exist. We trust moreover, that the statue of Washington to be executed for us by Chantry will be but the first step toward the cultivation of these beautiful arts, in our neighbourhood; and though we cannot but repeat an opinion formerly expressed, that we should have been better pleased with a production of Canova's, yet as there is to be a statue of our hero from his chisel in one of our sister states, the country at large will be no loser, by our wanting it here.

But we have not forgotten that the title of the work, at the head of our article, promised something on the history of the ancient art. This is a branch of polite literature, which from the middle of the last century downward, has been cultivated with great success, particularly by the Germans. The first, who reduced the history of the Grecian art to a scientific form, was Winckelman; and notwithstanding some errors, to which the first work in any department is exposed, *his* remains to the present day the best single one for this study. Many of his countrymen have pursued the same charming study, with equal success. The Propylæa of Göthe is a series of essays partly on topics of ancient art; and the Weimar edition of Winckelman, though it does not supersede the Italian translation and notes of Fea, is unquestionably the best of that invaluable work. Mr. Böttiger, the learned and amiable superintendant of the Cabinet of Antiques at Dresden, has also done much for the history of the ancient art. There are few spectacles, that illustrate more strikingly the progress of civilization in the world, than the rich cabinets at Dresden, the fine palaces and churches, in short the *tout ensemble* of this beautiful city abounding in all the refine-

ments of art, and crowning with its graceful towers the banks of that river, which bounded the uttermost northwest of the Roman empire, and separated the regions of barbarity from the regions of utter night. The learned and philosophical works of Mr. Böttiger are worthy of the opportunities he has enjoyed, as guardian of perhaps the finest transalpine collection of antiques. Mr. Thiersch, the author of the essay before us, in the enjoyment of similar opportunities at Munich, is doing himself like credit, by his diligence in their use. The crown prince of Bavaria has distinguished himself, by his zeal for the fine arts, and the liberality he has manifested in forming a collection of monuments of them. The very remarkable and precious statues, that were a few years since dug up, in the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius in the island of Ægina, were purchased by him at an expense of about 30,000 dollars. The British government, we have been told, was at the same time in treaty for their purchase, for a sum a little smaller. These statues are in a severe style, and are so characteristic in attitude, manner, and execution, as to have brought into much greater notice the passages of the ancients, in which a school of Æginian art is mentioned. Mr. Thiersch has the charge of the collection, in which these and the other ancient works of art at Munich are deposited; and the essay before us is one only of the proofs he has given of his qualifications for the important trust. He is moreover known to many of our readers as one of the most promising philologers in Germany, and as the author of a valuable Greek grammar. The first, who distinguished himself for his success in uniting the study of the works of ancient art with that of the literary remains of antiquity, was certainly Heyne, and the liberal spirit resulting from this union is one of the points, in which his style of criticism is most distinguished from the dry manner of the Porsonian and the Hemsterhusian schools.

But though the Germans have thus distinguished themselves in the history of the ancient art, the other nations of Europe have not been without their successful votaries of the same attractive study. Italy has ever been the home of antiquarian science, and without enumerating a series of names of subordinate respectability, that of Visconti, the immortal author of the museo Pio-clementino and of the Iconographie, is enough of itself to redeem to the great abode of the arts,

the credit of their most successful study. The last age, so fruitful in illustrious characters, has probably left the memory of not one, who united more signally the fruits of original genius and of unwearied study. In his closing days, when his body and mind were worn down by excruciating disease, all antiquity seemed still present and familiar to his boundless memory; and he quoted the classical authors to an extent and with a precision, that we have never seen equalled. Moreover, it is to be remembered that the life, in which all this learning was amassed was not passed 'in the soft retirements of academic ease,' but in the storm and whirlwind of revolutions. Under the French *regime*, he was consul of the new Roman republic; and so active was the part which he took in the anti-papal politics of the day, as to make it necessary for him to fix his residence in France, under the protection of the French emperor. It was not even his good fortune to be forgiven at his death. Nor can we say of him, as of the envied and persecuted of old,

Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.*

Notwithstanding the Roman origin of Visconti, his long residence in France and his superintendence of the imperial cabinets, as well as the circumstance that his Iconographie and his contributions to the Musée are in the French language, entitle that country to a part of the credit of his reputation. But these are not all that this language has contributed to the study of the ancient art. The Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions contain abundant proof, that although Winckelman was the first to comprise the whole of this subject in a scientific form, yet that separate topics in it had been treated, with great success, at a still earlier period by the French savans. It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the near approaches made to the philosophical views of the new school, by Count Caylus, Barthelemi, and d'Hancarville.†

* 'In the spring of 1818, the Eloge of Visconti was read by the chevalier de Rossi, in the Archaiological Society of Rome, in the presence of two cardinals and four foreign ministers. The next day, an account of this sitting was sent to the public paper, but the police forbade the publication, because Visconti had been chief of the Roman republic. About three weeks after, a notice was inserted in the Diario, briefly stating that on a particular day, this Eloge had been read.'—*Lyman's Political State of Italy*. p. 291.

† The very rare and valuable work of this author, entitled, Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit, et les progrés des Arts de la Gréce, was published in *London*, 1785.

M. Millin, the late deceased conservator of the Cabinet of Medals, left scarcely a subject in this department untouched, and M. Quatremere de Quincy, in his splendid work on the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias, has crowned with well deserved fame a life devoted to these elegant pursuits.*

Though England has presented the world with no single treatise, that can take the stand of a classical work in this department, yet the specimens of ancient art published by the Dilettanti Society, are unquestionably at once the most faithful and splendid representation of ancient remains. While the labours of Mr. Knight, connected with them and illustrative of them, entitle that veteran scholar to a place in the front line of classical antiquaries. The world is looking to England for something of first rate excellence, in this department. With the Elgin marbles in her possession, the only unquestioned works in statuary from the school of Phidias, which time has spared us,† she has a precious pledge to be redeemed to this study. Nor will the expectation be disappointed, if we may form our opinion from the beautiful beginning, which has been made, in the engraving of the works of art in the British Museum. In one department of this study, and that by no means the least curious, we mean that of the falsely called Etruscan vases, it is well known that the labours of Sir William Hamilton have justly placed his name at the head of all who have written on this subject.‡

The essay of Mr. Thiersch before us is the second on the history of the Grecian art, being a memoir read to the academy at Munich. In consideration that the intercourse between the banks of the Iser and the banks of the Charles is not over direct, we hope our readers will not ascribe it wholly to our negligence, that we have not had an opportunity of seeing the first of these memoirs. The recapitulation which Mr. Thiersch makes of its chief contents, by way of intro-

* M. Quatremere wrote, at an earlier period, a work on the Art of the Egyptians; a subject which has been treated with such profound erudition by Zoega, a Dane resident at Rome, in his work de Obeliscis.

† We say *unquestioned*, as we have never been able to admit without scruple, that the colossal statues on the Quirinal at Rome are really from the chisels of Phidias and Praxiteles, as the inscriptions (certainly ancient) on their bases set forth.

‡ See on this subject *Bœttiger's* Vasen Gemählde, Dresden, 8vo, and *Lanzi* de' Vasi antichi dipinti volgarmente chiamati Etruschi. Dissertazioni tre. 8vo.

duction to the memoir before us, enables us nevertheless to present them with a connected sketch of his views.

Mr. Thiersch begins this recapitulation, by alluding to a remarkable chasm of some centuries, in the history of the Grecian art. This chasm, however, was not confined to the art alone, but may be observed to exist also in the political and literary history of the same wonderful people. Between the Trojan war and the age of Solon is a most remarkable interval of uncertainty, of confusion, and apparent retrogradation; for which no author, that we are acquainted with, has as yet found an adequate account. We are careful to say *apparent* retrogradation, for we are apt to think that causes were acting in secret, of which we indeed have lost the tradition and the account; but that the development of the political, intellectual, and literary character, which took place from the age of Solon, was in reality less sudden than it now seems. Mr. Thiersch thus expresses himself, on this subject.

'Attempts have long been made, in the history of the Grecian art, to fill up a chasm of nearly five hundred years, which exists between the age of epic poetry and that of the Ionian wars against the Lydian and Persian monarchs. For it is indubitable, from the accounts, introduced in part from the most ancient tradition into the Homeric poems, of statues of gods and men, extensive and richly wrought relievos, ingenious implements with forms of animals, tapestry with inwoven representations of battles and the chase, of the methods of working in brass, and of the composition and use of metal, that the Art in the remotest periods of Grecian antiquity, in the age of the traditions of the gods and heroes, had already advanced beyond the rudiments, had attained a good degree of facility in the manipulation, and been applied to the service of religion and the ornament of life. Notwithstanding this, through the succession of ages down to the sixth century before Christ, however enriched in its materials and enlarged in the circle of its representations, the Art remains stationary in point of style and character, and the works of the latter portion of this long period are placed on the same footing with the most ancient.'

We do not think such of our readers as are familiar with Homer will accuse Mr. Thiersch of having given an exaggerated idea of the ante-homeric art, as indicated in his poems. Nor will they do him the injustice of supposing, that he suffers himself to be so led away by his enthusiasm, as to join

with le Chevalier in ascribing the comparatively modern works discovered by the latter, the tumulus of Achilles on the plain of Troy, to the age of that hero. Nor can we forbear the opportunity, which this train of remark affords us, of bearing indignant testimony against the conduct of some of the travellers and residents in respect to this and other *tumuli*. The mound on the plain of Marathon was unquestionably erected over those, who fell under Miltiades. It has been half dug down, its top shovelled off, and its sides undermined, under the auspices of M. Fauvel. The mound on the Sigæan promontory is unquestionably as old as the poems of Homer. We have historical accounts of it to the age of Alexander; and it is impossible not to see it in these beautiful lines.

Ἀμφ' αὐτοῖσι δ' ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
Χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱεροῦ στρατοῦ αἰχμητάων,
Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ προὐχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἴη,
Τοῖς οἳ νῦν γεγάασι, καὶ οἳ μετόπισθεν ἔσονται.
Od. xxiv. 80.

M. le Chevalier quotes these lines and approaches and views this almost sacred monument, with becoming veneration.

'There is something solemn and affecting,' says the worthy man 'in this appearance of the graves of the great.' In consideration of which premises, and of a preposterous Greek etymology, which he lends to the Turkish name of the *tumulus*, M. le Chevalier thought it adviseable to 'open' this monument. 'Open' is a very small and gentle word, and applied to gates and doors, it means a very gentle process. But in the case of mounds of stone and earth it is less compendious, and this opening of the 'solemn and affecting monument' turns out to have been the digging of it about half down.

'About *in the middle of the monument*, I found,' says M. le Chevalier,* 'two broad stones laid in an angle against each other, and forming a sort of roof, under which *I discovered* [the reader will mark the words] a small statue of Minerva, upon a car of four horses; and near the same, a metallic urn, filled with ashes, coals, and human bones. This urn now in possession of the

* Not having the original at hand, we quote from the German translation of M. le Chevalier's work, published under the direction and with the notes of Heyne. The original, we believe, was read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and afterwards edited by professor Dalzel.

Count Choiseul, is surrounded with a vine in relievo, from which hang grapes of a very fine style of execution.

'I venture not to assert that these are the ashes of Achilles but the remains of some one particularly devoted to Minerva they certainly are, inasmuch as the statue of the goddess is deposited in his grave. The person, moreover, must have died in an age when it was still the practice to burn the dead, for ashes, coals, and bones were distinctly visible in the urn. When I accordingly look on this urn, surrounded with the vine, I confess I find it difficult to refrain from thinking of that famous urn, the work of Vulcan, the gift of Bacchus, the present of Thetis to her son—the urn, in short, in which the Greeks deposited the ashes of their hero.'

M. le Chevalier finds no difficulty in the circumstance that his urn is bronze, and that of Vulcan was gold; and none in the objection of Barthelemi, that the relievo was in a style of art, too modern for the age of Homer. Neither does Heyne, who, in his note says, 'that M. le Chevalier *himself* did not see the little statue of Minerva,' inform us how this is to be reconciled with that traveller's remark, in the extract just given, that he discovered said statue under the stones, which rested on each other.' The urn and statue were deposited in Count Choiseul's collections; but we do not know what has since become of them.

With respect to the mound itself, notwithstanding the violence done it in this precious 'opening,' it is still the prominent object on the Sigæan point, and still fulfils the noble prophecy which we quoted above from the Odyssey. A Turkish governor is buried on the top, and the marble grave stones, with the guilded Arabic inscriptions, form a picturesque object on its summit; at the same time that they suggest to the judicious observer a rational account of the discoveries made by M. le Chevalier, in the supposition that in some period of comparatively recent antiquity, this venerable mound was 'opened' by some wealthy Greek, who was anxious that his ashes should rest in the reputed sepulchre of Achilles. As these grave-stones moreover are about twelve feet asunder, they will doubtless be appealed to a thousand years hence, by the pilgrims who shall wander from the newly discovered southern continent of seals to the plain of Troy, as a proof of the gigantic dimensions of the son of Thetis.

Of works of the most ancient period of art, what are called

the Cyclopian walls of some of the ancient Grecian cities and citadels, particularly those of Tiryns, are among the most authentic specimens. No one certainly can regard these walls, without being struck with a marked difference of style in the massiness and irregular shape of the stones of which they are built, from that of any walls of which history gives us the date.* But a still more curious work from this period is the famous gateway of the citadel of Mycenæ, representing two lions rampant on the sides of a short doric pillar, in a very rude style of sculpture. Mycenæ was destroyed as early as the year 466 before our Saviour, but this gateway, as well as the walls of the citadel, are still standing. The latter are Cyclopian, though by no means of so marked a character as those of Tiryns in the neighbourhood. Pausanias found the lions on the gateway where they still stand. The most temperate and cautious writers seem willing to allow their extreme antiquity, but we confess that we were unable to suppress our scepticism, even under the action of the enthusiasm caught upon the spot. Much as we should delight to be able to believe that we had passed under a gateway through which Agamemnon had passed, we are constrained to think, from the appearance of the work, its inconsiderable mutilation and its uprightness in a situation not remarkably secure, that it is more probably a subsequent imitation of an ancient work, than a work itself of the extremest antiquity. We propose the scruple however with great diffidence, and had much rather have it confuted than confirmed.

The leading idea in Mr. Thiersch's theory of ancient Grecian art may be learned from the following extracts.

'Since the opinion was advanced by Winckelman and recommended by his authority, that the Art in Greece sprung spontaneously from the soil, independent of foreign influence, and from its first beginning moved forward in progressive development to its highest bloom, every attempt to explain the early pause in its progress, which we have described and the tardiness of its final improvement, every attempt to bring the mythological and historical

* We regret that we have not been so fortunate as to procure a sight of an essay on the Cyclopian walls of Italy, published by an accomplished countryman, Mr. Middleton of Charleston, resident at Naples: designed as the first of a series of views and descriptions, from the continuation of which he was deterred, we believe, by the rudeness of certain professional authors, who regard themselves as residuary legatees of all ancient works, and allow nobody to design or describe but themselves.

periods in the history of the art into connexion and harmony has been unsuccessful; and we have been obliged to shut our ears on the loud testimony of the Homeric poems, and bring as low down as possible the origin of the art in Greece.

On the other hand we attempted in the former essay to show, that the art in Greece was as ancient as the states of Greece themselves, and introduced with the foundation of the Grecian worship into the new states of Greece, from the foreign countries where it already existed, particularly from Egypt, by means of colonies and emigrations. Received into these new states, and united with whatever art had been already diffused in Greece by way of the islands from Phenicia, Asia minor and Europe, or with whatever had spontaneously formed itself among the aboriginal tribes of Greece, it succeeded in the hands of the first artists or the *Dedalians* in attaining a primitive fixed character. After this it was shown, that down to the 50th Olympiad, the Art retained this ancient form, without any visible change in the fundamental style, notwithstanding the enlargement of its resources, by means of the more extensive use of ivory and its connexion with finer woods and with gold in the statues, by means of the invention of bronze-casting and of the use of marble; and had already produced works which, as original models in the sublime style, remained objects of notice even in the latter periods.

* * *

'We come now to the age to which it was reserved to unfold the art from its ancient form into a regularly *progressing** type of pure beauty and sublimity; and to convert into the truth and beauty of a natural style the forms which religious association had consecrated, the traditional stiffness of limbs and garments, and the stark uniformity of the countenance.

* * *

'In the 50th Olympiad, at the period when the Grecian cities in Asia sunk beneath the kings of Lydia, and the Median princes still ruled in the interior, in the age in which Sappho and Alcæus flourished, and Solon gave laws in Athens, lived, according to Pliney, Dipœnus and Scyllis, who first acquired fame by works in marble, who adorned Sicyon, Argos, Corinth, Olympia, and Ambracia with their productions, and educated a considerable number of artists of repute. They are called disciples of Dædalus, or Dædalians, to show that they still wrought in the manner of the Dædalian school, and they are the last which bear this name. With these artists and with the pupils from their *ateliers*, begins a

* We are constrained for want of a better, to use here this obsolete English word, for which we have no better authority than Shakspeare and Ben Jonson.

great motion toward improvement, which appears in all its activity about fifty years after, at the close of the tyranny of Polycrates in Samos, and with the establishment of that of the Pistratides in Athens. The development thus begun advances with constantly accelerated progress, through the reigns of Cyrus and Darius. It became complete in the period after Gelon had founded his government in Syracuse, and Hiero reigned there in peace; and Athens, released from domestic oppression, began to try the strength of her youthful freedom in contests with her neighbours, and by the attack on Asia, and the burning of Sardis, challenged the Persian power to the field. The first battle, that of Marathon, in the second year of the 72d Olympiad, the 490th before our era, which decided the ascendency of Grecian bravery over the numerical power of Asia, and opened the epoch of Athenian glory, gave occasion to the art, by a work of its greatest master PHIDIAS, to show that its development was complete, and that it had attained to the free representation of ideal forms. Phidias made from the tenth of the Marathonian booty, which had been consecrated to Minerva, the colossal statue of the goddess in bronze. It stood upon the citadel of Athens, and its crest and lance were visible at a great distance, as you sailed from Sunium.*

* * * *

'All antiquity unites in attaching to the name of Phidias the perfection of the art, and there is no room to doubt that, in the works of his early years, his style and the flight of his genius had elevated themselves above the ancient form. According to this the development of the art falls within the 52d and the 70th Olympiad, completing its progress from the last of the Dædalian artists to the first colossal work of Phidias, in 108 years.' p. 20—22.

The remainder of Mr. Thiersch's memoir is occupied in filling up this period with the names and works of the artists, of which accounts have come down to us; in a description of the materials, on which the art exercised itself as illustrating its historical progress; in a survey of the constantly expanding circle of the objects which it represented; and in a comparison of the spirit of improvement which was evincing itself at the same time in other departments. All these topics

* Le Chevalier, in consequence of the common false translation of the passage of Pausanias, denies the possibility of this. Mr. Thiersch's translation removes the difficulty. The same rendering is adopted by Nibby in his 'Saggio di osservazioni critiche, geografiche, antiquarie sopra Pausania, Roma 1817.' This essay is intended by Mr. Nibby as a specimen of a commentary on the whole work of Pausanias, of which author he has already presented the public a complete Italian translation.

are treated with learning and with ingenuity, but our limits do not allow us to follow the train of discourse. As little is it in our power, at present, to enter into the controversy which Mr. Thiersch's memoirs have excited, on that part of his theory in which he defends an original introduction of the Grecian art from Egypt and the East. In points of an antiquity so remote, as much commonly may be said on one side of the question as on the other, by men of learning and ingenuity; and not having before us the first memoir of Mr. Thiersch, we are the less prepared to enter into this discussion. Meantime we shall esteem ourselves most happy, should the remarks which we have now made have the effect of calling the attention of our readers more particularly, to the most beautiful branch of antiquarian study.

ART. XI.—*The Political State of Italy. By Theodore Lyman, jun.* Boston, Wells & Lilly, 1820, 8vo, pp. 424.

E. Everett

IT was formerly thought, that a gentleman, by the simple process of leaving his own country and going into a foreign one, acquired the right of forcing on the public an account of his breakfasts and nights' lodgings, of the various vulgar people he fell in with in the diligence and the inn, with all the insipid gossip of ordinary life. The mere circumstance of travelling was thought to give an importance to these precious details; and we were expected to buy and read a journal of small quotidian experiences, on the score of their having passed abroad, of which, had they passed at home and a man had proposed to speak to the public, his friends would have put him upon hellebore. Not only is this remark applicable to many of the elder travellers, but it is a scandal not yet effaced from English literature, that the Northern Summers and Strangers of Carr were once popular reading. But the public taste is certainly becoming more correct on this point; and although no discerning student of foreign countries will refuse any fact or detail however insignificant, so it be but characteristic; yet it is generally allowed now to be of no sort of consequence to the public, whether the traveller took a bad franc from the postillion, between St. Denys and Paris, or got a headach from his first indulgence in the cheap wines

of that capital; and the journals of travellers made up of these articles of information have, we believe, ceased to be in great demand, even at the circulating library.

There is another sort of travels which was also in great vogue in the last century, but is falling now into equal disrepute. The country treated of in the work before us suggests a striking example of the kind to which we allude: viz. the Travels of de la Lande in Italy; a sort of encyclopedia of all kinds of knowledge, which fall, by however remote an association, under the rubric of Italy, and strung together by the slender thread of a perigrination through the country, on the part of the author. That this work contains much valuable information nobody will deny; but we suppose it is one of the dullest books ever written. Notwithstanding the exalted and just reputation of de la Lande in his peculiar department, the accuracy of observation and the extent of general knowledge which he really possessed, can be seen in his inferring the mildness of the climate in the Milanese, from the growth of a fine palm-tree in the courts of the Ambrosian library: which palm-tree is, unfortunately for the argument, *of brass;* and the estimation in which these travels are held in the country best able to appreciate them may be learned from Monti's calling them 'a miserable perambulation.' The most honest book in this way is Reichard's 'Traveller,' which professes to be designed only as a guide-book on the road, and as such is probably the best in existence.

Lastly there is a sort of travels in Italy and Greece, of which the public is getting weary, for a more honourable cause indeed, but to the same effect; we mean the classical travels, and those which describe those countries in the connexion of classical associations, and of the remains of classical antiquity. The books in this way, at least as far as Greece is concerned, are now so good, that we think nothing further of that kind need be attempted. Were the popularity of a work a sure test of its merit, the same might have been said with respect to Eustace's Italy. But recent literary history contains few examples more melancholy of the instability of human things, than the fate of this work; and as every traveller, who returns from Italy, bears fresh testimony to its extravagance and its errors, and as all candid readers were from the first offended with its excess of sectarian and political zeal, it is falling as rapidly as it rose; a fate to have been expected for

a book wrought out, in the leisure of a university, as we have been credibly informed, from very imperfect notes taken on a hasty *transit* through the country, with few of the qualifications enjoined on the traveller, in the introduction to the work. Still however Italy has been, well or ill, so often described in reference to its ancient remains and works of art, that we think no great interest could be excited for a book of travels that should dwell principally upon them

The only sort of travels, that will, we think, hereafter be much sought for, are those which in fact, though written by travellers, are, if we may venture on a paradoxical phrase, no travels at all; that is, the remarks of persons of observation in foreign countries, wholly unincumbered with details of stage-coaches and post-chaises, and common travellers' gossip, and leaving it quite to the reader's imagination to conceive by what conveyances and after what adventures, the author arrives at the spot where his observations commence. And even when there arrived, the political interest is so fast absorbing all others both at home and abroad, and the classical soil has been so thoroughly trod, and we have such maps and views, and catalogues of galleries and museums, that if we mistake not a greater curiosity will hereafter be felt on topics of statistical and political information, on the condition, pursuits, and manners of the people, than on pictures, statues, and ruins.

The work before us is of the description we allude to, containing the author's observations on a class of subjects limited in their range, connected more or less intimately with the politics and statistics, and the state of manners of several parts of Italy, treated with a detail and accuracy, which show that these topics were made the object of diligent inquiry and investigation on the spot; and wholly unincumbered with the common lore of turnpike roads and hotels. This seems to us at once the dictate of good taste and fairness, for it is really little better than a fraud on the public, to force upon them under the cover of the names of France, Italy, and Greece what after all has no sort of importance but as having happened to the individual traveller.

The title of Mr. Lyman's work will not perhaps convey to the reader an idea of its whole contents. A portion of the chapters only, as the third, sixth, thirteenth, sixteenth, twenty first, and thirty second chapters can be strictly called

political in their subject. Other parts refer to statistics and finance, belonging rather to political economy than politics technically used. In addition to these, there are several chapters devoted to the manners, customs, and institutions of different parts of the country. In consequence of the miscellaneous nature of the subjects treated, it was not easy to fix on a title which would expressly comprehend them all. That which is chosen, though subject to the exceptions we have stated, sufficiently answers the apparent design of the author, viz: to indicate his work as one devoted not to antiquarian and classical topics, but those of a political interest.*

The parts of Italy principally treated are the Ecclesiastical and Neapolitan States. There are, however, several chapters in which the author has collected his observations with respect to the country at large; and the appendix contains considerable statistical information with respect to Tuscany, Piedmont, and Genoa. The part of Italy of which the least is said is the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom; an omission accounted for, in the advertisement to the work, from the want of public printed documents, and the extreme jealousy of the Austrian functionaries.

No person we think can read Mr. Lyman's book, without feeling in a very sensible degree, the unhappy situation of our American literature for want of that useful class of citizens, known in England as book-makers; artists profoundly skilled in the mystery of section and paragraph; who can take the observations and facts of gentlemen and throw them into books and chapters, in the most scientific form; who can spread out a small matter over a large surface, and know how to fashion the size of the book, not according to the amount of the materials but the popularity of the subject treated; and can tell just how much the public will *bear* upon any given topic. In the hands of an artisan of this class, Mr. Lyman's book would have assumed a very different form

* We may observe, by the way, that it is no doubt a similar sense which is to be given to the word *political*, applied to the long trochaic lines of the modern Greek versification. Their being adapted to political topics in the common sense of political, is a ground for the name not existing in fact. They are also called δημοτικοὶ by Eustathius (Il. p. 27. Ed. Polit.) and we are inclined to agree with Salvinus in his note to this passage of Eustathius, that both πολιτικὸν and κοινὸν are intended in this application, to express the reverse of παλαιὸν.

from that in which it now appears. Much less than a large quarto it could not well have filled. We can fancy many improvements, which would unquestionably have been made, in the order of the chapters; and as for paragraphs and clauses, there is no knowing what a skilful pen might have done for them. Facts, and dates, and sums, often set down, as it should appear, under their respective heads, in no other order than that, in which they had originally offered themselves to the author's observation, would have been marshalled out in a logical succession, rising from small to great, or shading off from generals to particulars; and instead of the perplexing confusion of a native landscape would have presented us with the beautiful regularity of a Dutch garden. Seriously however, though we think but meanly of this formal and scientific finish in a work of the kind of that before us; and though we are sure that nothing sooner excites the disgust of judicious readers than to witness a pedantic precision in this respect, yet we think the great objects of all writing, to communicate distinct ideas, would have been better attained by Mr. Lyman, by more care in the divisions of his work; and by throwing distinctly under one head all that belongs to Italy in general, and under others all that belongs respectively to the Roman, Neapolitan, or other separate states. The style also runs frequently into the extreme of plainness, and from a desire in itself laudable, to avoid a tedious exuberance, is occasionally so brief, elliptical, and abrupt, as to be obscure. The consequence of this falls grievously upon the *dilletanti* at large, particularly upon the class of light readers, and we speak it feelingly the reviewers. In general, by the grace of a copious index, by grand divisions in large capitals, and subdivisions in small capitals, and a well-organized free-masonry of book and chapter, it is by no means necessary to read a work to find what is in it. You *read* the table of contents and the index, and *turn over* the rest: the body of the book being like the stone of an East Indian mango, a kind of horny dry kernel, on which the pulp reposes. The work before us, unluckily perhaps for its popularity, is of a different class. It is necessary to read it, to find out what is in it. The objection, which Madame de Stäel makes to the structure of a German period viz: that it is impossible to tell what a sentence means in German till you hear it through, applies singularly well to Mr. Lyman's work. For

though a tolerably minute analysis of the several chapters is prefixed, in the way of a table of contents, yet for want of the organization and typographical engmery before mentioned, and that most invaluable device, an alphabetical index of the whole, it is next to impossible to get at the information contained in the work, by any other means than perusal. To a reviewer, a work so contrived is a trial of no ordinary severity. At the risk of being laughed at, by the brethren of the craft, we are obliged to own that the first step we were compelled to take, in preparing a review of the work before us, was to give it a diligent perusal; and if this circumstance should give our judgment of it any additional weight, with such of our readers as are old fashioned enough to suspend their opinion of a work till they are acquainted with its contents, we hope still they will reflect upon the melancholy condition in which we should be placed, were we always obliged to read what we undertake to review.

In the present case, however, we are free to confess that what was forced on us, in the way of professional duty, and for the want of any of those mechanical resources which we have described, has repaid our trouble, by the amusement and the information it has afforded us. We have become acquainted with many curious facts relative to the condition, character, and manners of the inhabitants of the most interesting portions of Italy; we have derived information with respect to the detail of that which is generally known only by the name and the outside form; and in particular we have received much light from a new point of view on the general subject of modern Italy. We profess to be fond of pictures, of statues, and of ruins; famous spots and their glorious associations have a charm to our minds; and the Roman Forum and Capitol hill, when well described or faithfully delineated, awaken still a childish interest in us. These we suppose are common feelings among all well educated persons; but for this cause, such persons are apt to shut their eyes on the modern state of Italy, and on the political, civil, financial, and statistical condition of a country, which has ever played a great part in modern European politics, and which is destined perhaps, even now, to be the theatre where a new continental war shall break out. Many a reading man, we doubt not, can draw a better diagram of the city of Augustus, than of Pius VII; and tell a vast deal more of Parthenope, than of

Naples. It is true, as we hinted above, that the public taste is undergoing some change in this respect. Intelligent politicians now begin to feel some of that curiosity in the cabinet of Cardinal Gonsalvi,—small a spring as this is, in the great clock work of the nations,—which they learned at school to confine to the cabinet of Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa; and think it no disgrace to a well informed man, especially if he happens to be a politician, or a foreign minister, after having first accurately settled the necessity of choosing the Flamen Dialis and the Vestal Virgins from the offspring of a confarreation, a point to which we cheerfully concede the priority of interest, that he should then know something of the ceremonies of taking the veil, and of the amount and support of the monastic establishments in modern Rome. On all these points we have derived much information from Mr. Lyman's work, and, as we said, feel ourselves amply repaid for the reading of it, even at a season when a folio page of debates in the Massachusetts Convention, the menace of a recurrence of the Missouri Question, and the trial of the Queen of England have really put as much upon our table, as an ordinary allowance of eye-sight can away with. That there is nothing in the volume which could have been dispensed with, either as being already known, or of no great importance to be known, we do not say: though for ourselves we happen not to be acquainted with any works, from which much that is contained in Mr. Lyman's book could have been learned; nor on the other hand, with respect to what may seem to some insignificant, should we readily resign one fact however trifling, for many phrases however fine. That there is nothing in the way of opinion to which we do not subscribe, we are equally far from maintaining, and on some points of taste we could, if we thought proper, join issue boldly with the author. But as life is short, and we took up the volume with the design of learning what we could from its contents; and perceived, from a glance at the first pages, that it came from the hands of the author, without much pretence of literary handicraft, we have given ourselves very little pains to wrestle with paragraphs, or cavil at small blemishes:

> ——ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
> Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
> Aut humana parum cavit natura.

We are moreover not sure that we have been wholly

able to divest ourselves of all that additional interest in the work, which may pardonably result from having been ourselves of the voyage, in the course of which the materials for it were gathered; nor is it quite without a sentiment of self-reproach, that we cast our eyes on an ample volume of remarks on the modern state of Italy, without our having been able to give to the public a corresponding proof of industry and zeal, in the journal of our own antiquarian observations. With this apology to our readers for our tediousness, if we should seem to dwell with too much complacency on details of which the interest will vary to different persons, we proceed without further preface, to lay before them an analysis of the work, with such extracts from the author and observations of our own, as may serve to illustrate it.

As the political state of a people is ever powerfully affected by the state of religion, which may prevail in it, Mr. Lyman opens his work with two chapters, connected with this part of the subject. The first treats the index, the licensed editions of the bible, and the character of the popular religious books in Italy. Governments and established churches, in almost every age, have assumed to themselves the right of dictating to their members and subjects, what books they shall read; and perhaps it would not be safe to deny at large, that the civil and religious guides of a people have a right to exercise this discretion. Though we disdain the vulgar cry against popery, and approve the candor with which Mr. Lyman speaks of its institutions, it must be allowed that our venerable mother, the Roman church, has exercised this right with a freedom, that bears hard on novercal despotism. The Index Expurgatorious has been one of her chief engines for this purpose. This is an index of books forbidden to be read by the faithful. It amounts, in the modern editions, to a closely printed small octavo volume; and appendices and additions are published from time to time, containing the dangerous works, as they appear from the immoral or heretical presses of the transalpine world. It appears from the authorities collected by Mr. Lyman, that though decrees against suspected books are as old as the fifth century, yet that the compilation of a regular index of them was first ordered by the Council of Trent, and published in consequence in 1564. The further compilation of the materials for it is entrusted to a congregation of eleven cardinals, assisted by counsellors and reporters.

Our readers will be assisted in judging of the spirit, in which this index is compiled, and we must add of the government of the Ecclesiastical State—for the Index Expurgatorius is of course a part of the law of the land—by learning from the work of Mr. Lyman, that the following are of the number of forbidden books, viz: the translation of Darwin's Zoonomia, Sismondi's Italian republics, the Greek Lexicons of Stephanus and Scapula, Grotius de Jure, Richardson's Pamela, and Copernicus on the Revolutions of the heavenly bodies.—for his pertinacious adherence to the doctrines of which last pestilent work, it is well known that Galileo was persecuted even unto recantation. If there were any thing more preposterous than the prohibition of such works as these, in the nineteenth century or in any century, it would be the farce, by which dispensation is obtained from it, and license to read prohibited books is granted. For the forms of a petition and license to this effect, we refer to Mr. Lyman's work.

Among the works prohibited by the Index Expurgatorius are the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The fate, which attended the efforts of this Society to diffuse the scriptures in the ecclesiastical state, may be learned from the following passage.

'About two years ago, Mr. Hartford, an Englishman employed by the British Bible Society, offered to give a number of Italian bibles to the Papal government for distribution, provided he was allowed to print them at Rome. The government refused this offer, except upon condition that he printed the edition of the Bible translated into Italian by Martini, archbishop of Florence, and published in 1803, in thirty-six volumes 8vo.* It is a fable that the Pope excommunicated the Bible Society, though he has caused their proceedings to be placed on the Index, and the Papal government has declared that all Bibles, not approved by the church, will be confiscated, when found within the ecclesiastical dominions. The Bible was printed in Italian in the time of Sixtus V. in the year 1589.† The edition of Martini, and another of an archbishop of Turin in 23 large volumes, are the only ones tol-

* 'Martini, Bibbia Sacra tradotta col testo a fronte, con note e illustrazioni. Venezia, 1803. 36 vols. in 8vo.'

† 'For some curious details on the subject, see Vita di Sisto V. da Leti. Tom. 3. p. 387. It is now only found as a rare book in a few public libraries.'

erated, and even those instantly subjected to the Index, if printed without a Latin text and ample notes and illustrations. Such are the opportunities that the poor classes, and indeed, one may say, any classes have in Italy, of instructing themselves in the Holy Scriptures. Again, so much is knowledge denied to the Italian people, that all the offices of the Romish church are in Latin, and mass said in the Italian tongue is absolutely illegal, though Scipio Ricii, bishop of Pistoja, introduced under the protection of the Grand Duke the use of the vulgar tongue in divine service in his diocess in 1786. This has since been discontinued.' pp. 7—9.

We cannot but make a remark here which will need to be borne in mind on occasion of other observations which we may offer, that it is strictly the pontifical government of the ecclesiastical state, to which the stigma of a policy like this applies. It would be the height of injustice to apply it to the catholic church at large. The Gallican church, one of the noblest bodies in Christendom, has ever resisted the interference of the Roman court; and although we know not whether an exemption from the Index Expurgatorius forms a stipulation in any of the Concordats, yet France, of all the countries in the world, is that where it is practically least heeded. In Catholic Germany, the clergy have furnished some of the most enlightened theologians of the present day, men who must smile or weep at the sight of an Index. In our own country, we have reason to think that as little scruple is felt in reading the prohibited books by members of the Catholic communion: a communion, which so early as the settlement of Maryland, set examples of religious toleration, which proved it to be entitled to the name of Catholic in a moral as well as a technical sense.*

We would refer such of our readers, as wish to go more

* 'The assembly of Maryland endeavoured with a laudable anxiety to preserve the peace of the church, and though composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, it adopted the measure, which could alone prove absolutely successful. The act which it passed 'concerning religion,' recited 'that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practised;' and it enacted that *no person believing in Jesus Christ*, shall be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their consent.—That *those reproaching any with opprobrious names of religious distinction*, shall forfeit ten shillings to the persons injured.' For this quotation from Chalmers, and others to the same effect, see the second section of Mr. *Walsh's Appeal*, a section replete with important statements.

deeply into the doctrine and discipline of suppressing and burning books (with which has occasionally been connected the extension of the same treatment to their authors) to a work, of which we have placed the title in the margin.* Nor can we forbear to borrow from the first chapter of that work the well-known remark of Tacitus, in reference to the burning, by order of the senate, of the annals of Cremutius Cordus; a remark which, if duly weighed by those whom it concerns, might almost, one would hope, prevent a new edition of the Index. Sed manserunt occultati et editi: quo magis socordiam eorum irridere libet, qui præsenti potentia credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam. Nam contra *punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas; neque aliud externi reges, aut qui eadem sævitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperêre. An.* iv.

Looking therefore on the Index, though originally ordered by the last general council of the church, to be in reality a feature of the modern Roman government, the description of it is pertinently followed in Mr. Lyman's work, by the account of the heads of that government, the Pope and cardinals, in the second chapter. The details of the government and of the condition of the people in the ecclesiastical state, which Mr. Lyman has collected, serve to illustrate the *Concetto* of the abbé Galiani, which Mr. Lyman has quoted, that an atheistical successor of St. Peter were better than a superstitious one. Nor is the proposition more questionable, in the form in which Mr. Lyman has himself presented it, that the monastic vows of celibacy imposed on the heads of the Roman government, are equally fatal to its character and power. The doctrine is, in truth, in either form the same; and no one we think can have made a visit, however transient to Rome, and witnessed the oppressive formalities which have their origin in the ecclesiastical character of the government, without being ready heartily to assent to it. We suspect that there is something fatal in ecclesiastical training, to that enlargement of mind and incuriousness of small things, which are necessary to the administration of a government at the present day. We are aware that the history of Europe presents illustrious examples of the success, with which kingdoms have been administered by ecclesiastics. Wolsey, Xim-

* Jacobi Gretseri, Societatis Jesu Theologi, de Jure et more prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi libros hæreticos et noxios. Ingolstadii, 1603, 4to.

enes, Richelieu are names to be compared with any, in the annals of the lay brethren; and cardinal Gonsalvi, we think, stands very reputably by the side of the Metternichs, the Nesselrodes, and the Hardenbergs of the present day. Yet we have known his eminence do what we presume none of his brother ministers would have stooped to—come down to the outward portal of the palace of the Quirinal to speak to an English traveller, who had no personal acquaintance with the cardinal secretary of state, relative to an order for post-horses. But with respect to the illustrious ecclesiastics, whose names we have repeated above—besides that all rules have their exceptions, and it is the very nature of extraordinary powers to resist the operation of unfavourable circumstances in which they may be placed—it is to be remembered that the case is very different with single priests, surrounded by the secular and military atmosphere of a court, and with a consistory or college of monks acting and reacting on each other, and constantly breathing the intensest atmosphere of ceremony and formality, from their vicinity to its great centre and source.

The following passage presents the personal character of the present venerable head of the church in a pleasing point of view. For some accurate details of the history of Pope Pius VII, which our limits do not allow us to extract, we must refer to the context in Mr. Lyman's work, as also for several facts relative to the cardinals, which are still more novel and curious.

'But the present Pope, an amiable and good man, possessing much learning and sound sense, but with a spirit and body chastened and shattered by many years of captivity, insults, mortifications, and personal injuries, does not appear to be much beset with the ambition of restoring Rome, either by abandoning his religion or his monastic vows. Those who recollect his touching answer to the base prelates sent by Bonaparte to torture and persecute him; looking at his crucifix, he said, "let me die worthy of the sufferings that I have already endured;" those, who have witnessed the piety, earnestness and devotion, with which he assists at the great festivals of Christmas; those who have seen him driving slowly through the streets of Rome, and the people, kneeling at his approach, exclaim, "blessing, holy father;" finally, all those, who still bear in mind the meek and saintlike expression of his face, who are acquainted with his mild, gentle and subdued manners, his mortified habits of life, his holy and sanctified demeanour and carriage, will have no difficulty in believing that he

is undefiled by those wild and wicked projects, and those debauched and profligate principles and practices that disgrace too many of his predecessors.' pp. 11, 12.

The third chapter contains an accurate account of the form in which the Roman government is exercised over the several provinces of the ecclesiastical state, of the several courts of justice, civil and criminal, and of some of the important dignities of the Roman municipality. We presume it was unexpected to most of the readers of Mr. Lyman's work, to find that the liberal principles which have sprung up from the French revolution, and which have redeemed, as far as any thing could redeem, the crimes and calamities of that great civil tragedy, have penetrated into what one would have thought the very sanctuary of prescription and the old Regime, the capital of the Pope of Rome. The administration of the Roman government, as appears from the statements made by Mr. Lyman, has retained much of the organization given it by the French; and which was confirmed by the Motu Proprio, or pontifical decree of July 6, 1816. Nor is the reason less unexpected than the fact.

'In the course of the Motu Proprio, the following unexpected concession appears. "New habits substituted for the old, new opinions and fresh information diffused upon all the branches of administration and public economy, require the adoption of a system more adapted to the present condition of the inhabitants of the pontifical states.'

We are informed, in this chapter, that the use of the torture was abolished by the same ordinance of 1816. Had not fundamental changes of the oldest institutions and habits become so familiar to us, in the last thirty years, we should hardly know how to believe that the use of the torture was abolished in the papal courts; and that the inquisition in 1818 condemned but one man, and that for stealing church plate. In fact, if we are not misinformed, the papal government has not been the last to abolish the use of the torture; for at the date of the Motu Proprio of 1816, the use of the torture had not been forbidden by law, in the protestant kingdom of Hannover, then subject to his majesty George III. Since then, we believe, it has been formally abolished in Hannover. It deserves to be added, however, that in the kingdom of Hannover, and probably in other European states, the torture in modern times

was applied to extort confession, only when the guilt had been already proved or rendered unquestionable by strong presumption. But it being a maxim of the Hannoverian law, founded perhaps on some of those unhappy instances of the execution of the innocent which are recorded we suppose in the annals of every jurisprudence, that capital punishment should never be inflicted except where the crime was confessed, the torture was employed to extort a confession where the guilt had been proved. Before the formal abolition of the torture a year or two ago in Hannover, it had sunk silently into disuse; a fact, however, which was studiously concealed from the common people, on whom the notion was diligently inculcated that it was still in practice. To this end a notable practice, called the *territio realis*, was admitted, even in the subordinate criminal courts; in virtue of which the prisoner was summoned at the dead of night, to a remote apartment, where the instruments of torture—ropes, wheels, and frames, were strewed around him, where he was questioned, according to a catechism of criminal interrogation drawn up for such occasions, and if he persisted in his denial, handed over to the hangman and his apparitors to be stripped, bruised, thrown down and lacerated, as apparent preliminaries to being tortured. We happened to have personal knowledge of a case of this gentle administration of justice, in the year 1817, in one of the most respectable cities of the kingdom of Hannover.

In the important points of the limitation of Entails, and the abolition of baronial privileges, the provisions of the present law of the ecclesiastical state are sufficiently liberal, and might furnish a lesson to countries that think themselves more enlightened. The civil law in the momentous article of succession, is, with a few unimportant exceptions in the case of females, still in force. If there were nothing else, in the civil law, to entitle it to our respect, it would be this noble feature of an equal succession; and to every extravagant commendation pronounced, by the English writers, on the common law, accompanied as these commendations so often are, particularly in the work of Blackstone, with disparaging comparisons of the Roman jurisprudence, we would reply, by pointing to the Roman law of succession. It is this alone which makes the Roman law essentially republican, and the English law essentially aristocratic; and it is quite easy to see that the

comfort, independence, and happiness of private life among the Romans, must have been promoted far more considerably by an equal distribution of estates, than impaired by the despotic assumptions of the princes. The last fall heavy only on the ministers of state and the courtiers; while in the modern states of Europe, particularly England, although the subject is protected by an admirable code of public right from any considerable oppression on the part of the government, the mass of families is ground down by this most unnatural and aristocratical law of succession, which turns out the younger sons and the daughters upon the world.

We pass over the fourth chapter, which contains an account of the police of Rome, and the mode of confinement in the prisons and at the public works, as also the fifth, in which may be found some curious original anecdotes on exorcising, with a highly interesting description of the office and sale of relics. We confess we are not prepared to find such gross superstitions, so publicly kept up; nor after all the relics, which we have had the good fortune to see, among others the skulls of the three wise men and of the eleven thousand virgins at Cologne, did we suppose that there was an office at Rome where any relic wished for might be publicly purchased, and with it a diploma vouching for its authenticity. A specimen of such a diploma may be found p. 52, 53, and dated in 1819!

The sixth chapter contains an account of the finances of the ecclesiastical state, compiled apparently from original documents. The account of the Luoghi di Monti, a sort of public establishment for pawn-broking, will be new to many of our readers. These establishments are designed to secure the needy who resort to them, from the extortions to which they would be subject from private pawn-brokers, particularly from the Jews. Similar institutions exist in France, and so favourite an establishment are they to the people, as to have obtained the name of Mont de Pieté. The Luoghi di Monti in Italy were, according to Mr. Lyman, together with the Vaccabili, the usual stock in which personal property was invested by corporations and rich individuals. 'The Vaccabili were a singular fund, bearing an interest of six per cent. but which was forfeited to the government, if not sold during the life of the holder, or at least twenty days before his death:' a curious species of lottery calculated on the chances of life.

Mr. Lyman justly dissents from the Abbé Galiani's recommendation of the Luoghi di Monti. The encouragement they afford to the poor to barter their furniture, utensils, and even clothing for the means of immediate gratification, is too great not to place these establishments nearly upon a level with the Lotto, the most deleterious form, in which a weak government derives support from a vicious people. As a means of restraining usury, it is doubtful if they deserve more indulgence. It is true that it is the very poor class alone, who principally need laws to protect them against the extortions of money-lenders; but when one considers how very few occasions there are, on which the very poor have a necessity to borrow money, we may say a right to borrow money, it may perhaps be doubted whether any great real good can result from public institutions, to protect them from the tyranny of usurers. It appears from a fact adduced by Mr. Lyman with regard to the comparative profits of the stock in the Luoghi di Monti and of the capital of the Jew brokers, the former being at only five or six per cent. and the latter at eight or ten, that even as a means of preventing usury, these establishments are ineffectual in their operation. This furnishes another illustration, if another were wanting, of the futility of laws regulating the interest of money; laws of which the uselessness is already acknowledged by the most practical and judicious statesmen. It is surprising that an age so discerning as the present, and in general so well acquainted with the theory as well as the practice of commercial intercourse, should have been so slow to perceive the false doctrines, on which the laws against usury rest. It is in the first place sufficiently clear, that even the odium which exists against usury is principally artificial and created by the laws, which fix the rate of interest. Once fixed, it is very natural that a stigma should attach to those, who take advantage of the distresses of their neighbours to lend them money at an illegal rate. And as in common times, the laws are generally obeyed, whether just or unjust, the open transactions of worthy citizens are conformable to these as to other laws; and we get in the end to think that an interest on money, higher than that allowed by law, is not only illegal but immoral. It is clear that if no law existed, money might be as honourably loaned, at twelve per cent. when worth twelve per cent. as it now is at six among us; and that interest only

would be stigmatized as oppressive, which was exacted from the extreme emergency of circumstances throwing the borrower into the lender's hands, or from the vices of expectant heirs content to waste a reversion, for the sake of immediate indulgence. But to make such dealings odious, no laws are necessary; and virtue is not aided by casting an indiscriminate legal stigma on what is made vicious only by the positive law. But there is another important remark, in respect to the laws against usury, that instead of favouring the poor against the rich, or protecting the borrower against the lender, they have directly the opposite tendency. It is true that a temporary and very limited benefit may occasionally accrue to the borrower, from a system which aims to make the value of money stationary; but the general effect is the reverse. If the laws fix the value of money at interest, lower than it is in other investments, those who have it will not lend it. Borrowing is therefore made more difficult, and credit less valuable. In proportion to the profits on money at interest, will be the temptation to lend it; and in the same degree, the process of combining the industry of the poor with the capital of the rich will be facilitated. But if by letting money, I am to be fined in a considerable per centage, viz: the difference between the legal rate of interest and what it would have been worth to me, in other modes of employing it, I shall not of course lend it. Nor can it be replied to this, that the same thing would happen without any laws. It is true, with or without laws, men will never lend money, while on the whole it is more profitable to employ it in other ways. But the convenience of collecting the profits on money at interest is so great, that less will always content a man in this mode of investment, than in those attended with greater or less degrees of uncertainty, or personal labour. The evil of interest-laws is this, that by keeping stationary the value of money at interest, such property is liable to be left far in the rear of other modes of investment; and those who wish to borrow experience a difficulty in doing it, in proportion to the amount of the difference between the rate of interest and what it would be worth the capitalist to lend his money for. Meanwhile, the community is evidently impoverished by any thing which renders less easy the process of bringing time, industry, and skill to market, in the management of capital. It is easy to conceive, that as long as a capital is in one man's

hand, it may be worth but ten per cent. while in the hands of two men, the same capital might be made productive of fifteen per cent. by the accession of time, skill, and attention and local knowledge. So that the borrower could afford to pay ten per cent. and yet make a good profit; which must be lost to him and the community, by the operation of any laws, which fix the rate of interest at a limited point.

Finally it may be noticed that the very terms, in which political economists define a just and lawful interest, show the futility of all laws upon the subject. 'If the compensation,' says Grotius, 'allowed by law does not exceed the proportion of the hazard run and the want felt by the loaner, its allowance is neither in repugnance to the revealed or the natural law; but if it exceeds those bounds, it is then oppressive usury; and though the municipal laws may give it impunity, they never can make it just.' This is the doctrine of Grotius, cited and approved by Blackstone. Men must have had a singular conception of money, and attached one knows not what sort of superstitious notion of magical uses to it, to admit the possibility in any community, where trade and intercourse exist, that it should ever be let for more than the risk or want felt by the loaner. Who does not know that the value of money is regulated by precisely the same circumstances, that regulate the value of all other merchandise; and that all the laws ever passed would be ineffectual to enable its possessors to let it for more than it is worth,* or to induce them to let it for less? The only real effect therefore of laws against usury is to diminish the value of money, by restricting, with an onerous condition, one of the modes of employing it. And every thing that lessens the value of money not only makes the community poorer, but falls harder on the poor than on the rich; on those who have little, than on those who have much.

The seventh chapter of Mr. Lyman's work contains a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes, relative to the admittance of strangers to the religious festivals in Rome; the priesthood; and some points of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It should have followed the other chapters, which treat kindred topics. No comparison is so often made, by an American

* It is in fact but too generally the operation of interest-laws to oblige those, who want money, to hire it at an extravagant rate, in consequence of the secresy and precautions necessary.

traveller, between England and the continent, as the superior courtesy manifested to strangers, in the capitals of the latter. Every foreigner at Paris has had occasion to experience a freedom of access to the public museums and collections, greater even than the Parisians themselves enjoy; and it is an anecdote familiar in the books of the travellers, that to get admission to the pontifical chapels, on the days of the high festivals, it is necessary even for a Roman nobleman to speak broken Italian, like an Englishman. We are quite aware, however, that the want of a similar courtesy felt in England is not hastily to be set down to inhospitableness. There is too much freedom, too widely diffused in England, to admit of such exclusions of the natives or of the middling classes. On the continent the number of good coats is so small, that they can all be conveniently admitted; in London, there is a well dressed mob numerous enough to fill St. Peter's a score of times. Moreover, the only effectual means of keeping the peace in a crowd, the sharp-pointed instrument about a foot and a half long fixed upon the end of a firelock, has found comparatively little favour among our English brethren; and till that is well introduced, no great immunities can be possessed at public festivals, by one class over another. In France, when all Paris is flocking to see Talma, by the simple virtue of this peace-making instrument, a crowd of thousands of Frenchmen, overflowing with animal spirits and with passion for the Français, walk quietly up in couples to the bureau for tickets; and the powder is not shaken from a lock of hair, in a scene where in London the skull would be broken. The courtesy manifested to foreigners at Rome may be seen in the following remark of Mr. Lyman, on the admission of strangers to the high festivals in the Pauline chapel.

'On one of the great ceremonies before Christmas, I have seen the Pope kneeling on the floor of a splendid chapel, belonging to St. Peters, before an altar upon which five hundred wax candles were burning, and earnestly repeating the prayers for the occasion, in unison with many of the most distinguished cardinals of the church, also upon their knees in different parts of the chapel; at the same time that several hundred strangers were crowding through the door with no little noise and vehemence; were approaching within a few feet of the person of the Pontiff; and had completely surrounded and enveloped those of the cardinals, who happened to be at their devotions behind the line of his holiness.'

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'Artists of all nations are allowed to design in any church at Rome on all days of the week, and at all hours, when the church is regularly open. Travellers are often led up to the railing of an altar to see a work of art, at the moment when the priest is celebrating mass. Prayers, incense and criticism are mingled together. Several chapters could be written abounding in facts similar to the foregoing. I do not pretend to say, that these facts savour only of indulgence, forbearance and liberality on the part of the government; they no doubt betray an equal degree of weakness, and a desire to caress and secure the good favour of foreign nations. Indeed, it is but a sorry policy to suffer foreigners to make light of their dignities and privileges, on occasions, when a few Swiss halberds would be sufficient to enforce a becoming respect.' pp. 69—72.

We know not how the modern Roman law of trusts and charitable foundations may run, but the following facts from the same chapters, would make out a tolerable case, we think, for heirs at law in some countries.

'All catholic nations had formerly churches and houses in Rome for the worship and reception of the poor pilgrims of the nation. There they were lodged and fed for a certain number of days, and at their departure received a small viaticum. No pilgrims now come, and as several nations still hold property of this distribution, the proceeds are given in dowries to young girls, or to the poor of the nation. The church of Flanders distributed six hundred dollars in this manner the last year. It was a great loss of money and time to go on pilgrimages, particularly those long pilgrimages to the Holy Land. It converted a large proportion of the population, most endowed with robust bodies and enterprising minds, into beggars, as the superstition of those ages never denied charity to the palm branch and cockle shell. The celebrated caravans to Mecca and Medina have also become less numerous, less frequent, and depart at more irregular periods. The Turkish government finds the expense of providing guards and conductors too great; and it would do well to calculate, at the same time, the loss of labour and the contracting of idle and bad habits by many of its subjects.' p. 79.

The eighth chapter contains a particular account of the process of beatification, an inferior degree of saintship, illustrated by the case of Father Posadas, a Spanish priest, who was beatified two or three years since at Rome, and whose history, in consequence, was much talked of at the time in the devout circles. As Father Posadas was born in Anda-

lusia in 1644 and beatified in 1817, the church cannot be accused of undue rashness, in conferring this important honour. Mr. Lyman remarks at the end of the chapter, that an interval of one hundred years commonly elapses between the death and canonization of a saint. We presume that this delay arises quite as much from the trifling condition of an expenditure of a hundred thousand dollars attached to a canonization, as from the laudable desire of proceeding with safe deliberation, in discussing the proofs of sanctity. There is a wisdom as well as wit in the remark made by Count Borromeo to his family, on occasion of the canonization of his son St. Charles, 'Be good, my children, but do not be saints.'

One may say of the subject of canonization, as Mr. Stewart does of juggling, that it deserves a more philosophical examination, than it has generally received, in reference to the subject of miracles; inasmuch as it is not decreed, even in its inferior stages, except upon formal and judicial proof of miracles wrought. Mr. Lyman accordingly pursues the subject of the miracles in the following chapter. As the case therein related seems to us in every respect, the most curious and important one of alleged modern miracles, more so, for instance, than those at the tomb of the Abbé Paris examined by Hume, Paley and others, we shall give an abstract of the account, which Mr. Lyman has drawn from the work of Marchetti, De' Prodigi avvenuti in molte sagre immagini specialmente di Maria Santissima, &c. Roma, 1797, 12mo. We have ourselves had an opportunity of consulting this rare and singular volume, and are able to vouch for the correctness of the citations, that are made from it in the work before us. It is to be observed that behind the lamps, by which the streets of Rome and others of the Italian cities are lighted, are placed portraits of the Virgin, coarsely painted and generally glazed. As they are placed directly against the walls, and these are of stone, it is difficult to conceive that a deception could be practised, by persons concealed behind them. The most important of the cases described by Marchetti is that, of which an account is given by Mr. Lyman in the following manner.

'I shall, therefore, only mention the most important facts relating to the first prodigy recorded in the book; this happened to an image of the most holy Mary, "mother of pity," and called

dell' Archetto.* It is painted with oil, and represents only one half of the bust; both the eyes are open, of which the pupil and white can be most distinctly seen. The picture is protected by a glass, and it is raised ten feet from the ground. The first prodigy was observed on the 9th of July, 1796. The day was mild and clear. Early in the morning it was remarked that the eyes began to move, and the eyelids occasionally shut themselves entirely. Here began the examination not only of this, but of all the other images. Persons brought ladders, mounted to within a few inches of the eyes, and stood looking at them for many minutes. The Cardinal Braschi carried a ladder upon the top of his carriage and went to every image in the city; each one only served to make him believe more in the miracle. I was well acquainted with Monseignor B——, who had examined several in the same manner. He was a man of sixty, intelligent, of a sound judgment, well instructed, not inclined to superstition, and as ready to scoff at incredulous stories as other people. He said to me repeatedly, that he as much saw the eyes move, as he saw the picture against the wall. Some brought glasses to magnify the object, others walked away a few hours, and then returned to see if the same effect would be produced, and others held their hands over their eyes for a few moments for a similar purpose.

'Persons were seized with cold sweats and fainted, others were seized with convulsions, and some went rushing through the streets and shouting, like the possessed, "miracolo." The crowds near the images were exclaiming at every moment, "see, the blessed saint raises her eyelids—she turns the pupils, now she raises them and now she depresses them." Crowds of persons watched night and day before the images, chanting different hymns of the catholic service. It was a scene of crossing and of reciting Pater Nosters and Ave Marias. When the miracle was particularly visible, then the whole multitude fell upon their knees in the most devout manner, some repeating short prayers with great fervour, and others shouting in a frantic, half-distracted voice, "blessed be the most Holy Virgin." The litanies were chanted, and at the verse "Santa Maria, ora pro nobis" it was observed in particular that the virgin opened her eyes. The streets were thronged for several weeks both night and day with people going in long processions, headed by priests, from one image to another, and reciting offices in praise of the virgin. "All hail Mary and thy son Jesus, and Him who created them." These processions were usually closed by persons armed with

* 'Observations were made upon these miracles in the London Chronicle for January, 1797, by the Rev. Joseph Berrington. I have not, however, been able to see that publication.'

instruments of penance, beating their naked bodies. Before the images ancient enmities were forgiven, men deposited their swords and daggers in sign of peace—robbers restored stolen goods—creditors released their debtors—a profane song or a blasphemous word was no where heard, and neither licentiousness, quarrels, or drunkenness were seen. This short and simple canticle, a thousand times repeated, was heard at every corner: "Salve Regina, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte."

'The printed accounts are signed by the autograph of Cardinal Somaglia. Then follows a list of one hundred and seventy-four persons, all above the age of twenty, of all ranks and descriptions—cardinals, marquisses, priests, officers, monks, coblers, married and unmarried, native and foreign, all of whom solemnly deposed upon oath, before a special tribunal, appointed for the purpose, that they respectively witnessed the prodigies above recorded; many of the witnesses saw the same prodigies at all the images, and many at various repetitions and intervals. These persons were examined as if they had been giving testimony, in a court of justice, to a natural fact. There is also a list of seven hundred and eighty-seven persons, who made a simple declaration; many, however, upon oath, of having witnessed the above-named prodigies. A large proportion of both lists consists of persons the most eminent in society for rank, dignity, learning and integrity. The seven hundred and eighty-seven were not formally examined, it being thought that sufficient testimony had been procured, and it being also thought adviseable to make public the result of the examination with all possible speed.' pp. 92—95.

Such is the account of these miracles. We suppose that persons, acquainted with the sympathetic character of the populace in all countries, will ascribe but little importance in the number of those who attested, or might have been procured to attest these miracles. It is equally easy to account for the unanimity of the crowds collected around the images. The history of the camp-meetings of the methodists, of which a detailed and authentic account would furnish a more curious sketch, than perhaps all our readers are aware, of American manners, not to say of human nature, would show with what rapidity the strongest excitement may be propagated through an assembly, by mere physical sympathy. These considerations will, we think, reduce the real difficulty, which this case contains, to a smaller surface, than it seems at first to present. It will be still necessary, it is true, for all who deny the reality of these prodigies, to furnish a rational

account of the faith which some credible individuals, after pains taken to examine the subject, appear to have reposed in them. Though no task is so thankless as that of suggesting possibilities, two ways occur to us, which may either of them give a sufficient account of this. One is the circumstance, that, as these images of the Madonna are glazed, some small inequality of a spherical form might exist in the glass, just before the eye of the picture, which by the very motion of the spectator's eyes up or down, or one side and the other, in the act of intent gazing, would give to the eye of the image the appearance of moving. And this effect, we think, might have taken place, as well when the spectator, by means of a ladder, took a near view, as from the street. The eyes once supposed, by one or two individuals to move, the cry of admiration raised by them would run through the crowd by sympathy; the only way in which it could run, even were the miracle real, since a small part only of the throng could be near enough to tell whether the eyes moved or not, at the height and behind the soiled glass, where the images are usually found. But secondly, improbable as it may appear, we do not know that it is made out by Marchetti to be impossible, that a fraud was practised. We do not recollect that it appeared by taking down the pictures, that no communication by wires or an approach through the wall behind was practised, or was practicable. Such frauds have been very extensively committed in all ages. We learn from the early history of the aboriginals of the West Indies, that images were there contrived by the priests with secret tubes, for the sake of hearing questions and making answers; and that the populace was kept in subjection and made to pay heavy impositions, by this simple apparatus of fraud. If any of our readers should be staggered with the weight of evidence in favour of the Roman miracle of 1796, they may find an account quite as staggering, in the interesting life of Wesley lately written by Mr. Southey, in which is contained the most authentic ghost story, which we recollect to have met with, but to which we presume few of them will attach any credit.

The tenth and eleventh chapters of the work before us contain accurate statistical accounts of Rome and Florence, but our limits oblige us to pass them over. The twelfth is devoted to the subject of monasteries and convents, and comprises the only details of any statistical accuracy which we have

happened to meet with, on this subject. The following views of the monastic life and character seem to us just and candid.

'The monks and nuns of the richer orders, not included in the name of mendicant or Franciscan, have a respectable appearance, and addict themselves to no particular penance of self-denial. In general, they observe no more fasts than are prescribed to all the church; and if they go to prayer five times in the twenty-four hours, they are no more meritorious than all men, who perform faithfully the calling appointed unto them; and surely no man will say, that the duties of a monk are to be named, on the score of toil and hardship, with the trades that the great proportion of men drive. As for seclusion from the world, the average are not more secluded and obscure in convents, than they would have been in their paternal houses. All monks have permission to leave their convents at certain hours, and there is but one nunnery which forbids its inhabitants holding converse with their relatives whenever they choose. As for the monotony of the life, it is no doubt very great; for three-fourths of it is passed in sleep and prayers, which, managed as they are in convents, doubtless resemble sleep, and the rest in a little reading and writing, coarse work or unprofitable amusement. I saw among the ruins, in the museum of the celebrated Vallombrosa, devastated by the French, several hundred little seals in sulphur, which a patient monk had passed a whole life in copying from the briefs, pastoral letters, and other religious documents preserved in the library. But this monotony is hardly less great or dispiriting, than that to which the Italians of the higher classes are condemned in the world; and it is precisely the monotony of that existence, joined with the great number of the Italian nobility, their poverty, and the reproach which belongs to industry, that will always supply the convents, until a government shall come sufficiently powerful and enlightened, to oblige this useless and degraded population to engage in the public and private concerns of the nation. As for their abstemious diet, of which the pious catholics make so great a merit, I am satisfied by details of the manner of living of several convents at Rome, that the average of the monks do not submit to more denials, than they would have been forced to do in other vocations. A difficulty of supporting themselves, and not a pious motive, is one of the chief reasons that leads men to convents. It is only another form for receiving parish aid. The council of New Castille, in its celebrated project of reform, of 1619, prayed the King, that the number of monasteries might be reduced, for they served only as a shelter to the indolent against want.' pp. 125—127.

For some curious accounts of the nunneries, the ceremony

of taking the veil, &c. we must refer our readers to the chapter from which this extract is taken.

With the succeeding chapters begin Mr. Lyman's observations on the kingdom of Naples.

In the thirteenth, is sketched a history of the efforts at political and religious reform in that country, some of which run back to a remoter period than we were prepared to expect. But our limits oblige us to hasten over this, as well as the chapter which follows and is devoted to the population of the city and kingdom of Naples. The fifteenth chapter on the Lazzaroni is highly valuable. A strangely exaggerated idea of the singularities of this class of men has been derived from the travellers, which is alluded to and justly contradicted by Mr. Lyman.

'The Lazzaroni have never worn a particular dress; they have never inhabited a particular quarter of the city; they have never had the practice of appointing a king from one of their own tribe, who received a pension from the government, a circumstance which appears to have been first mentioned by De Saint Non in his voyage Pittoresque; nor do they believe that they are distinguished by a remarkable origin. All these things are fables. In the last century, the populace of Naples was worthy of notice only for being numerous, miserable and depraved, circumstances that would readily befal a city where the police suffered almost every description of crime against individuals to pass without punishment, and every description of ruffian or vagabond, whether from the Neapolitan or ecclesiastical states, to find shelter and support; in a climate, too, where a thin shirt and trowsers, the porch of a church, or the staircase of a palace and a few raw turnips, with a little fish, fruit, and iced water, satisfied every want.

'It is also matter of romance, that the Lazzaroni have ever exhibited higher or different virtues, than have been observed in all people under vehement excitement. In the celebrated rebellion against the Duke of Arcos, in 1647, on account of an excise on fruit and fish, they were far from being filled with indignation at the sight of the head of their leader, Masaniello, stuck upon a stake; but having heard the next day, that the weight of bread had been diminished, they assembled in great fury and carried the body in procession to the church of Del Carmine, where it was deposited with much solemnity. On this occasion the populace of Naples first made itself conspicuous. The second principal occasion was in Januuay 1799, resisting for sixty-seven hours, the entrance of the French troops under General Champi-

onnet into Naples. But, a few hours, before the final conquest of the city, Michel, called the "pazzo," one of their leaders, on being made prisoner, accepted the rank of captain in the French army, and instantly marched with all the Lazzaroni under his command, to burn and plunder. The detachments of Lazzaroni, in other parts of the city, did not delay to take part in this proceeding. The populace of all great and corrupt cities have shewn, in all ages, passions as violent and inconsistent.' pp. 188—190.

The following account of the burials in Italy,* is from the seventeenth chapter, and describes one of the most striking scenes presented to the stranger in an Italian city.

'The corpse is dressed according to the wealth of the family, and one would think that the day a nun enters a convent, and the day a relative is buried, were distinguished by the most marked gaiety of dress. It is not uncommon to see a grown woman, and the age makes no difference in the costume, dressed in yellow shoes, white silk stockings, purple silk robe, lace cap, white kid gloves, besides ribbons and jewels, and placed upon a hearse ornamented with the gayest colours; the face uncovered, and generally rouged, and at every unequal step of the bearers the head turning slowly and heavily from one side of the pillow to the other.—The funeral usually takes place an hour after sun-set; later than that is a privilege granted by the police only to persons of consideration. First come long files of those fraternities, of which there are so many in Italy, associated to bury each other, dressed in white, red, or grey dresses, the face masked, and each bearing a lighted torch, followed by rows of Franciscan and Capucin monks, shrouded in their black and dark coloured mantles, the head uncovered, the cowl hanging down upon the shoulders, and the naked foot simply bound by a thick soal of leather. As the procession, made so brilliant and striking by the variety of dresses and numbers of lights, slowly and heavily moves along, the mournful chant for the dead, "requiem æternam dona eis, domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis," faintly and irregularly passes through its long files.—The corpse lies exposed twenty-four hours with the feet towards the altar, and all who enter the church during that time, are expected to pray for the repose of the soul. The body is then placed in a coarse coffin and lowered into the tomb, which is, however, not allowed to be near the principal altar.' pp. 208—210.

* This is a subject to which we alluded in the review of the letters on the Eastern States, in our number for July. We take this occasion to state, that the word *burned* in the passage quoted by us from that work, was a misprint, as we have been informed, for *buried.*

The two succeeding chapters are devoted to the hospitals and poor houses, and to prisons and crimes in Naples; and appear to be compiled with much accuracy, in a great degree from original sources.

The twentieth chapter is devoted to the subject of the Jews in Italy, and will be perused by the curious reader with particular interest. The following passage describes the condition of the Jews in the city of Rome.

'Paul IV confined the Jews to a quarter of Rome, on the left bank of the Tyber, near the theatre of Marcellus, where they still live; this quarter is called Ghetto.* It is separated by walls, and five gates from the other parts of the city; every night, about an hour after sunset, these gates are shut by the guard of the city, and not opened again till next morning at sunrise. During the French times, a perfect liberty of residence was allowed the Jews; but since the restoration, they have been driven back to their ancient limits, enjoying only the small privilege of keeping shops within two hundred yards of the gates of the Ghetto.

'These Ghettos are now only known in Rome, though in the other cities of Italy the Jews, for the most part, continue to live in a particular quarter, either from habit or of their own accord. Their number in Rome is about 4500. It cannot be ascertained exactly, as there is no return of this population; and owing to their habits of life, and the size of their families, the common methods of calculation do not apply to them. They are poor, degraded, reviled, and scoffed at, by the christians, who call them "someri" (asses), while the Turks in their turn call the christians "dogs." Nevertheless, the government protects them from insult and injury, though it compels them to live in a filthy and unwholesome part of the city, and denies them the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. The Jews in Rome are in great poverty, the richest among them keeping only a small shop for the sale of cloth and grain.' pp. 237, 238.

Much has been said of late in the foreign papers of the persecution of the Jews in most of the large cities of protestant Germany and in Copenhagen, and it may seem inconsistent with the liberal signs of the times, that a clamour and persecution to all appearance purely bigotted should have been so extensively raised. This persecution of the Jews in Germa-

* '"Ghet" among the Jews, is the name of the act of divorce when they repudiate their wives, founded upon this verse of Deuteronomy (chap. xxiv v. 1.) "Then let him write a bill of divorcement and give it into her hand, and send her out of his house."—*Vid. Art. Ghet in the French Encyclopedia.*'

ny is made still more unexpected, by the contrast with the respect to which the name of Jews was raised, in the person of Mendelssohn toward the close of the last century,—a philosopher who stood upon an equal footing, and cultivated a friendly intercourse with the most respectable christians of the day, and whose daughter became the wife of one of the most distinguished living scholars of Germany. The ostensible foundation of the hatred, with which the Jews are regarded, is their exclusive occupation in usurious transactions. The disabilities imposed on them in most countries have prevented their becoming land-holders; a national hereditary prejudice against the sea is said to have prevented their engaging in foreign commerce; while their peculiar character as fellow-members of a people possessing a common national tongue,* and scattered by persecution throughout all other countries, has afforded them remarkable facilities for dealing in exchange and money. The Jewish houses, for this reason, have in Germany been among the richest banking establishments; and as no strong good will can be supposed to exist between them and the community, it is natural enough that they should have sometimes made use of their control of the money-markets for oppressions both on a small and a large scale. When the disabilities upon them were removed in Prussia, being in possession of a great part of the disposable wealth of the country, they availed themselves of the distressed condition of the great land holders, and purchased large real estates. It is a popular opinion in Germany, fortified it must be confessed, by what has actually happened in Poland, that where Jews are allowed to hold lands, they end by rooting out every other species of population. So that the hatred against them was highly aggravated in Prussia, by the permission granted them to hold estates, and the promptitude with which they availed themselves of it. We have now on our table a satirical comedy in German, which may be called in English 'So the world goes with us,'† which without possessing a shade of merit of the higher kind, contains so lively a picture of the domestic life of the lower orders of the Jews, with so broad a

* The correspondence of Jewish houses in different countries of the continent is conducted often in the rabbinical or modern Hebrew language and character, by which means, it is tolerably safe from violation in the post-offices.

† Unser Verkehr; we are not sure that we have caught the spirit of this title in the translation, which we have given of it in the text.

caricature of their *patois* and of their manners, that they are said to have offered very large sums to the managers of the theatres in Berlin and Frankfort, to prevent its being played. These attacks on the Jews have not been confined to the theatre or the satirists; and the gravest politicians and economists in Germany have been at pains to testify against the extension of civil privileges to a nation essentially aliens, and hostile to the institutions of the countries in which they sojourn.* The question is sometimes asked, why the great civil and religious liberty enjoyed in America has not drawn more of this people to our country. One answer to this question is drawn from their reputed dread of the sea, 'for the water,' say they, 'hath no beams.' Another reason is predicated on the proverbial astuteness of us New Englanders, with which not even the Jews dare venture into competition. It is a similar cause which prevents their flourishing in Turkey. Notwithstanding the rich harvest, which one would have supposed they would find in the indolence, luxuriousness, and extravagancce of the Turks, the Jews are so outdone in shrewdness by the Greeks, and both are so far surpassed by the lynx-eyed cunning of the Armenians, that all the principal banking business at Constantinople is conducted by Armenians, while the Greeks are fain to speak with tongues, and the Hebrews to vend old clothes.†

The twenty-second chapter on the robbers and banditti of Italy makes one acquainted with many new and entertaining facts. It is a truth, sufficiently humiliating for Italy, that notwithstanding the pains taken by the governments to suppress these outlaws, there is more danger from robbers in travelling from Rome to Naples, and from Naples to Otranto, than in travelling through any portion of European Turkey, with perhaps the exception of the independent or revolted country of the Mainotes in the Morea. We have room to lay before our readers but one extract from this chapter.

'But the most extraordinary bandit, whose exploits somewhat resemble the celebrated ones of the famous Rinaldo Rinaldini,

* See the essay of Professor Fries of Heidelberg, Ueber die Gefaehrdung des Wohlstandes und Characters der Deutschen durch die Juden, 1816.

† The Greeks are the most respectable interpreters at Constantinople. The office of chief drogoman of the Porte is regularly held by a Greek prince, and is the stepping stone to the hospodarship of Moldavia or Wallachia. The account in the text of the comparative pursuits of Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, was given us by a good natured Jew, on the plain of Troy.

was a priest by the name of Cyrus Annichiarico, born in the small town of Grotagli, on the road from Tarento to Lecce. His first achievement was the murder of a whole family in the town of Francavilla. He had been a bandit for twenty years; the country people believed him to be a devil or magician, and laughed and scoffed at the soldiers who were sent to pursue him. When the French general Ottavio, a Corsican by birth, commanded in this province, a man presented himself one day before him, and said, with a fierce air, "the bandit whom you have so long hunted is now before you, but if he is molested, you will be assassinated before night-fall." Annichiarico turned and disappeared, and from that time general Ottavio doubtless had faith in the belief of the people. General Church, also, when one day in pursuit of this man, was accosted by a peasant, who drew him aside, and gave some intelligence concerning Annichiarico. The next day the peasant was found dead in his village, and a paper pinned on his breast with these terrible words. "This is the fate of all those who betray Annichiarico."—The last band he commanded was called the "decided;" each man possessed a certificate, bearing two death's heads with other bloody emblems, and the words "Justice, liberty, or death," signed by Annichiarico. I saw one in general Church's possession, written with human blood. At last, in January, 1819, this astonishing man, finding himself beset upon all points, threw himself, about sun-set, with five followers, into an old tower, in the midst of a farm-yard, near the small town of Casuba, hoping that in the dead of the night he should be able to escape through the soldiers, many of whom were his friends, and all believed him to be the devil But in the course of an hour a close line of light troops was drawn round the tower, out of reach of musquet shot, and after a siege of thirty-six hours, he was forced to surrender, having fired away all his cartridges, and killed five and wounded eleven of the enemy. He was carried to Francavilla, the scene of his first crime, tried by a court-martial, and there shot. It was on a Sunday when he was sentenced to be executed, and general Church sent to ask the priests, if it was according to their religion to shoot a man on that day. They answered, "the better the day, the better the deed."* Annichiarico died like a madman. From eight to ten thousand persons were assembled to see him shot, and to the last moment they treated with perfect scorn and indignation the notion that bullets would pierce such a man' pp. 273—275.

* 'Precisely the answer given by the notorious Robert Ferguson to those who proposed to kill the king, James II, on Sunday. He also offered to consecrate the blunderbuss which Rumbold was to use to fire into the carriage. See Dryden's works, vol. xvii. page 172,—also Mr. Scott's note (91) to Absalom and Achitophel.'

The twenty-third chapter on the Carbonari and other secret societies in Italy, has engaged the public interest, from the connexion of these associations with the late revolution in Naples. The most curious fact relative to them is that this organization, by which the late legitimate government in that kingdom has been shaken, was originally contrived by its friends in the French times, as an engine of expelling the foreign rulers, and restoring king Ferdinand.

The chapter on the liberty of the press might advantageously have been connected with that on the Index Expurgatorius, at the beginning of the volume. That on the universities contains what little a traveller is able to collect, or a foreigner curious to know of these establishments. Fallen establishments we had nearly called them; but the names of Forcellini, of Carlini, of De Rossi, and others as renowned belonging to this age or the last, must forbid that epithet. It is not the universities in Italy that are fallen, but society, which has fallen around them, and has no more the means of sending a host of pupils to their walls; while the extensive diffusion of learning beyond the Alps enables a person to get as good an education in Scotland, in Upsal, and in Moscow, as he could get in Padua or Pavia.

Of the remaining chapters of the work, though constituting the least technical, and the best written portion of the volume, we have left ourselves no room to speak,—and must be content with just referring our readers to the twenty-eighth, on the 'Italian nobility,' the thirtieth, 'on the English in Italy,' the thirty-first, 'on the Bonaparte family in Rome,' and the thirty-second, 'on the influence of the Austrians in Italy,' as replete with valuable facts and curious anecdotes, and information, for the most part not elsewhere, that we know of, to be met with.

Of the general character of this work we have already sufficiently given our opinion; and the extracts which we have made from it will afford our readers the means of judging of its execution. We apprehend there are few of our travellers, with whose journals and notes abroad these collections of Mr. Lyman might not enter into advantageous comparison; and to speak of any considerable portion of the work as already familiar, is to lay claim to no very small share of statistical, economical, and political acquaintance with Italy.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Agriculture.

Address delivered before the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society at their annual meeting in Northampton. By J. H. Lyman. Northampton, 1820.

Address of the general Committee of the Board of Agriculture of the State of New York, to the county Agricultural Societies, for 1820. 8vo. Albany.

Biography and History.

Historical Sketch of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company; from its formation in the year 1637 to the present time. Compiled and arranged from ancient records. By Zachariah G. Whitman, A. M. a member of the company. 8vo, pp. 199. Boston, 1820.

Biography of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. By John Sanderson, vol. I. part I. 8vo, $2,50. Philadelphia 1820.

Sketches of Universal History, Sacred and Profane, from the creation of the world to the year 1818. By Frederic Butler. Hartford, 12mo. $1,50.

Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution; including a Narrative of the Expedition of Gen. Xavier Mina. With some observations on the practicability of opening a commerce between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, through the Mexican Isthmus, in the province of Oaxaca, and at the lake of Nicaragua; and on the future importance of such commerce to the civilized world, and more especially to the United States. By William D. Robinson. 8vo, $2,50. Philadelphia, 1820.

History of the War of the Independence of the United States. By Charles Botta. Translated from the Italian by George A. Otis, vol. II. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1820.

History of the United States, with a brief account of some of the Principal Empires and States of ancient and modern times. For the use of schools and private families. By a Citizen of Massachusetts. 8vo, pp. 251, 75 cts. Keene, N. H. 1820.

Botany.

American Medical Botany, being a collection of Native Medicinal Plants of the United States, containing their Botanical History and Chemical Analysis, and properties and uses in medicine, diet and the arts, with coloured engravings. Nos. V. and VI.

By Jacob Bigelow, M. D. Rumford Professor and Lecturer on Materia Medica and Botany in Harvard University. Boston, 1821.

Commerce.

Old and New Tariffs compared, with observations on the effect of high Duties on Revenue and Consumption. By a Citizen. 4to, pp. 31. Boston, 1820.

Geology.

Geological Essays, or an Inquiry into some of the Geological Phenomena to be found in various part of America and elsewhere. By Horace H. Hayden. 8vo. Baltimore, 1820.

A Geological Survey of the County of Albany, taken under the direction of the Agricultural Society of the county. 8vo, pp. 55. Albany, 1820.

Law.

Reports of Sir Harry Yelverton, with notes and references to prior and subsequent decisions. By Theron Metcalf. Andover $3,25.

Sugden's Law of Venders and Purchasers, from the fifth English edition, with Notes. By Edward D. Ingraham. Philadelphia. $7,50.

Miscellaneous.

Essay on an uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America. By John Pickering, A. A. S. 4to, pp. 42. Cambridge, 1820.

Answer to a pamphlet, entitled 'Strictures on Mr. Pattison's reply to certain oral and written Criticisms, by W. Gibson, M. D.' By Granville S. Pattison, Esq. 8vo, pp. 52. Baltimore, 1820.

Strictures on Mr. Pattison's reply to certain oral and written Criticisms By W. Gibson. 8vo, pp 56. Philadelphia, 1820.

Correspondence between Mr. G. S. Pattison and Dr. Chapman. 8vo pp. 64.

Address delivered at Worcester, before the American Antiquarian Society at the opening of the Antiquarian Hall. By Isaac Goodwin. 8vo. Worcester.

Remarks on the employment of Females as practitioners in Midwifery. By a Physician. 8vo, pp. 22. Boston, 1820.

Filial Affection, or the Clergyman's Granddaughter, a moral tale. By the author of the Factory Girl. 18mo, pp. 162. Boston. 1820.

Address delivered at the Fifth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society. By Hon. Josiah Quincy. 8vo. Cambridge, 1821.

A treatise on Inland Navigation, accompanied by a Map. By Robert Mills. 8vo. Baltimore.

Report of the Committee appointed to investigate the state of the Treasury, and to inquire into the conduct of John Haywood, Public Treasurer of North Carolina. 8vo. Raleigh, 1820.

Appeal of Wheaton late Deputy Quarter Master General and Major of Cavalry to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. 8vo, pp. 24. District of Columbia, 1820.

Poetry.

Fanny, continued. 8vo, pp. 29. New York, 1820.

A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for social and private worship. 8vo. New York.

Politics and Political Economy.

Political State of Italy. By Theodore Lyman, jr. 8vo, $2. Boston, 1820.

Thoughts on Political Economy. In two parts. By Daniel Raymond, Counsellor at Law. 8vo. Baltimore, 1820.

Considerations on the impropriety and inexpediency of renewing the Missouri Question. Philadelphia.

Observations on Public Principles and Characters; with reference to recent events. November, 1820.

Construction Construed and Constitutions Vindicated. By John Taylor, author of the Inquiry and Arator. 8vo. Richmond, 1820.

Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses of the General Assembly on the communication of the auditor of the state upon the subject of the proceedings of the United States against the Officers of State in the United States Circuit Court. Published by authority. 8vo. Columbus, 1820.

Reports of Societies.

American Education Society, Fifth Report, Oct. 4, 1820. 8vo.

Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 8vo, pp. 34. Boston, 1820.

Third Report of the American Colonization Society. Washington.

Fifth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Peace Society. Cambridge.

Theology.

Sermon preached in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Baltimore, Oct. 19th, 1820, at the Ordination and Installation of the Rev. William Nevins, as Pastor of said Church. By Samuel Miller, D. D. 8vo, pp. 60. Baltimore, 1820.

Religion a Social Principle. A Sermon delivered in the Church in Federal Street, Boston, Dec. 10, 1820. By William Ellery

Channing. Published at the request of the hearers. 8vo. pp. 19. Boston, 1820.

The Natural History of the Bible, or a Description of all the Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, Insects, Reptiles, Trees, and Plants, Metals, Precious Stones, &c. mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. Collected from the best authorities, and alphabetically arranged. By Thaddeus Mason Harris D. D. F. R. S. and S. H. S. A new edition, revised, improved and enlarged. 8vo, $2,50. Boston.

Strictures on a Sermon, entitled 'Religion a Social Principle;' delivered in the Church in Federal Street, Boston, Dec. 10, 1820, by William E. Channing. By Hosea Ballou. 8vo. Boston, 1820.

Introductory Discourse, delivered at New Haven at the opening of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. By Samuel H. Turner, Professor of Historic Theology in the Institution. 8vo. Hartford, 1820.

The most important tenets of the Roman Catholic Church fairly explained. By Rev. R. Baxter. 12mo. Washington, 1820.

Series of Letters in defence of Divine Revelation; in reply to Abner Kneeland's Serious Inquiry into the authenticity of the same. By Hosea Ballou. To which is added, a Religious Correspondence between Hosea Ballou, and Dr. Joseph Buckminster and Rev. Joseph Walton. 12mo, pp. 249. Boston, 1820.

Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Marshall Shed at Acton, May 1820. By Rev. William Greenough.

Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. W. B. O. Peabody at Springfield. By Rev. Professor Ware.

Review of a Sermon, delivered by Rev. Ebenezer Gay of Stoughton, Aug. 20, 1820, being designed to refute the doctrine of Universal Salvation; more particularly a Sermon delivered in Stoughton in June, by Rev. Joshua Flagg, of Scituate. By Rev. Richard Carrique. 8vo, pp. 51. Boston, 1820.

Evidences of the Divinity of Jesus Christ; with the testimony of Christian and Heathen writers, that he was called God, and worshipped as God, in the three first centuries. By Frederick Dalcho, M. D. 12mo, pp. 125. Charleston, 1820.

Discourse before the Society for Promoting the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America. By Charles Lowell. 8vo. Boston, 1820.

Questions on the Bible, of the Old and New Testament; for the use of young persons. 12mo, 25 cts. Hartford,

An Attempt to prove that John's Baptism was not Gospel Baptism, being a reply to Dr. Baldwin's Essay on the same subject. By Nathaniel How, A. M. 8vo, 20 cts. Andover, 1820.

Travels.

Journal of Voyages and Travels in the interior of North America, to the Pacific Ocean, a distance of five thousand miles. Illustrated by a map of the country. By Daniel W. Harmon, Esq. 8vo. Andover.

American Editions of English Works.

Translation of the New Testament. By Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. 8vo, pp. 613. Cambridge, 1820.

End of Religious Controversy, in a friendly correspondence between a religious society of Protestants and a Roman Catholic Divine. In three parts. By the Rt. Rev. John Milner, D. D. V. A. S. F. S. A. London, and Cath. Acad. Rome. Accompanied by an elegant engraving of the Apostolical tree. 12mo, pp. 419, Philadelphia, 1820.

Life of Wesley; and the Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo, $4.

Life of the Right Hon. John Philpot Curran, late master of the Rolls in Ireland. By his son William Henry Curran, Barrister at Law. 8vo. $2,50.

The Abbot; being the sequel of the Monastery. By the author of Waverly, Ivanhoe, &c. &c. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia, 1820.

Same work in 8vo. 1 vol. Boston, 1820.

Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq. Begun by himself and concluded by his daughter, Maria Edgeworth. 2 vols. in one. $2,25. Boston.

Tales of the Heart. By Mrs. Opie. 12mo, 2 vols. $2. New York, 1820.

Memoir of the Rev. Henry Martin, B. D. late fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company. By John Sargent, jr. First American edition. 8vo, pp. 490. Boston, 1820.

Hermit in the Country; or Sketches of English Manners. By the author of the Hermit in London. 2 vols. 12mo. New York, 1820.

In the Press.

Pothier's Treatise on Maritime Contracts or Letting to Hire, translated from the French, with a Life of the Author and Notes. By Caleb Cushing. 8vo. Cummings & Hilliard. Boston.

Errata in the last Number.

Page 231 for 'green wacke,' read grau wacke; page 236 for 'as to the class,' read, 'as to the *dip*,' &c.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

AND

MISCELLANEOUS JOURNAL.

N°. XXXI.—*New Series*, N°. VI.

APRIL, 1821.

ART. XII.—*Archæologia Americana.—Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Vol. I.* Worcester, 8vo, pp. 436. 1820.

IT may at first seem singular, that an association should be formed for exploring the *antiquities* of a country, the discovery of which, in a wilderness state, and inhabited only by savage tribes, is an event so recent, that the appellation of 'the New World,' which was then given it, is still retained as appropriate; and which possesses no architectural ruins, no statues, sculptures, and inscriptions, like those of the Old World. Destitute, however, as North America may be of any such monuments of art, and of former grandeur, there are topics, connected with its original population and unwritten history, to excite the inquiries and occupy the researches of the learned. Notwithstanding the ingenious hypotheses of D'Acosta, Hornius, De Laet, and Grotius, and the opinions of Robertson, Pennant, and Clavigero, the question, *whence America was first peopled*, has never been satisfactorily answered. The subject has acquired increased interest by the discovery of ancient mounds and works of vast extent on the borders of the rivers west of the Alleghany mountains, indicative of an immense population in a region since overgrown with forests; and of being erected by a people who had made greater advances in the arts and in improvement, than the present race of Indians, or than their ancestors, since the Europeans have been acquainted with them. The savage nations of the wilds possess no tradition concerning their

origin, their use, or the people by whom they were constructed; and view them with the same curiosity and wonder, as do the new settlers of the country where they are situated. To obtain accurate surveys and descriptions of these ancient remains, appears to have engaged the earliest cares of the society, the first volume of whose transactions is now before us.

Another evidence, that *new* as America is among the nations, it furnishes subjects for antiquarian investigation, arises from *the languages spoken by the natives.* This subject has lately excited considerable attention. The 'New views of the origin of the tribes and nations of America,' by Dr. Barton, illustrated by 'Comparative vocabularies;'—the 'Historical account of the Indian nations,' by the venerable Heckewelder;—the ingenious discussions of Mr. Du Ponceau;—and the learned 'Essay on a uniform orthography of the Indian languages of North America,' by Mr. Pickering, are likely to furnish important aid, in ascertaining from what stock of the Old World the New was originally peopled.

The aid which is furnished by the volume before us to these interesting topics of investigation is ample, and will be received by the public with grateful acknowledgments. The American Antiquarian Society owes its origin and much of its success to the exertions and the munificence of the individual, who sustains the office of its president, Isaiah Thomas Esq. of Worcester. It obtained an act of incorporation October 24, 1812. Its immediate and peculiar design is to discover the antiquities of our own continent; to preserve relics and implements of the Aborigines; and to collect manuscript and printed documents and books, relating to the early settlement and subsequent history of the country. To further these objects, its founder, at its first organization, made a donation to the society of a large collection of books; and in 1819 its library contained about 5000 volumes, including the remains of the library formerly belonging to Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather, the most ancient in Massachusetts, if not in the United States, which was presented by Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker. A valuable addition of above 900 volumes has lately been made by the bequest of the Rev. William Bentley D. D. of Salem. The society also possesses a museum and cabinet, which contain many curious articles collected in various parts of the United States. For the deposit of these,

for the public meetings of the members, and for the accommodation of those who wish to consult the sources of our history, a handsome edifice has been erected in the town of Worcester at the expense of the president, and by him given to the society.

Assiduous in accomplishing the objects of its institution, the society has given to the public a volume of its 'Transactions and Collections.' It is introduced by several articles relative to the formation of the society, its progress, and present state; followed by an extract from Hennepin's 'Account of the discovery of the river Mississippi and the adjacent country by the lakes,' and of 'La Salle's undertaking to discover the same river by way of the gulf of Mexico.' Though the public have long been in possession of these last documents, yet they were deemed worthy of being reprinted here, as comprising the first information obtained by Europeans of a region, which contains the most curious monuments of antiquity in North America.

The greater portion of the original articles contained in these memoirs consists of descriptions of those ancient works by Caleb Atwater Esq. of Circleville, Ohio, communicated in an epistolary correspondence with the president of the society. By the publishing committee they have been arranged, and somewhat abridged. They are preceded by a large and excellent map of the state of Ohio; and are illustrated by drawings of the principal antiquities, which make the description more intelligible and satisfactory.

Mr. Atwater remarks,

'Our antiquities belong not only to different eras, in point of time, but to several nations; and those articles, belonging to the same era and the same people, were intended by their authors to be applied to many different uses.

'We shall divide these antiquities into three classes. 1. Those belonging to Indians. 2. To people of European origin; and 3. Those of that people who raised our ancient forts and tumuli.

'*Those antiquities, which*, in the strict sense of the term, *belong to the North American Indians*, are neither numerous nor very interesting. They consist of rude stone axes and knives, of pestles used in preparing maize for food, of arrow-heads, and a few other articles, so exactly similar to those found in all the Atlantic states, that a description of them is deemed quite useless.' p. 111.

The antiquities, belonging to people of European origin, con-

sist principally of articles left by some of the first travellers in these parts of the country, or buried with Indians who had obtained them, perhaps, from the early settlers of Canada. It was necessary to account for these, because, when found, they have sometimes been taken for implements of native inhabitants, and referred to as evidence that the country was formerly occupied by those who possessed the arts of civilized life.

'The third and most highly interesting class of antiquities comprehends *those belonging to that people who erected our ancient forts and tumuli;* those military works, whose walls and ditches cost so much labour in their structure; those numerous and sometimes lofty mounds, which owe their origin to a people far more civilized than our Indians, but far less so than Europeans. These works are interesting, on many accounts, to the antiquarian, the philosopher, and the divine; especially when we consider the immense extent of country, which they cover, the great labour which they cost their authors, the acquaintance with the useful arts which that people had, when compared with our present race of Indians, the grandeur of many of the works themselves, the total absence of all historical records or even traditionary accounts respecting them, the great interest which the learned have taken in them, to which we may add the destruction of them, which is going on in almost every place where they are found in this whole country.' p. 120.

'They abound most in the vicinity of good streams, and are never, or rarely, found, except in a fertile soil. They are not found in the prairies of Ohio, and rarely in the barrens, and there they are small, and situated on the edge of them, and on dry ground.' p, 124.

These ancient works consist, 1. of mounds, or tumuli, of a conical form, from five feet to more than a hundred in height: 2. of elevated squares, supposed to be 'high places' for sacred purposes, or the foundations of temples; and these are of various dimensions and heights: 3. of walls of earth, from five to twenty feet high, and enclosing from one acre to more than a hundred; some laid out in regular squares, some made exactly circular, and some of irregular construction. The principal of these seem to have been intended for fortifications, or as the means of fencing in large towns: and 4. of parallel walls of earth, extending sometimes several miles; believed to be designed for covered ways, for race

grounds, and for places of amusement. They all appear to have been built with 'earth taken up uniformly from the surface of the plain on which they are erected, so as not to leave any traces by which we perceive from whence it was collected, and are as nearly perpendicular as the earth could be made to lie.' That these are works of great antiquity appears from this declaration of our author;

'Trees of the largest size, whose concentric annular rings have been counted, have in many instances as many as four hundred, and they appear to be at least the third growth since the works were occupied.' p. 219.

'Along the Ohio, where the river is in many places washing away its banks, hearths and fire-places are brought to light, two, four, and even six feet below the surface. A long time must have elapsed since the earth was deposited over them. Around them are spread immense quantities of muscle shells, bones of animals, &c. From the depth of many of these remains of chimneys below the present surface of the earth, on which, at the settlement of this country by its present inhabitants, grew as large trees as any in the surrounding forest, the conclusion is, that a long period, perhaps a thousand years, has elapsed since these hearths were deserted.' pp. 225, 226.

The first of these mounds and 'forts,' as they are usually called, in a north-eastern direction, is on the south side of Ontario, not far from Black river. One on the Chenango river, at Oxford, is the farthest south, on the eastern side of the Alleghanies.

'These works are small, very ancient, and appear to mark the utmost extent of the settlement of the people who erected them in that direction. In travelling towards Lake Erie, in a western direction from the works above mentioned, a few small works are occasionally found, especially in the Genessee country. But they are few and small, until we arrive at the mouth of Cataraugus creek, a water of Lake Erie, in Cataraugus county, in the state of New York; where Governor Clinton, in his Memoir, says, a line of forts commences, extending south upwards of fifty miles, and not more than four or five miles apart. There is said to be another line of them parallel to these, which generally contain a few acres of ground only, whose walls are only a few feet in height. Travelling towards the south-west, these works are frequently seen, but, like those already mentioned, they are comparatively small, until we arrive on the Licking, near Newark, where are some of

the most extensive and intricate of any in this state, perhaps in the world. Leaving these, still proceeding in a south-western direction, we find some very extensive ones at Circleville. At Chillicothe there were some, but the destroying hand of man has despoiled them of their contents, and entirely removed them. On Paint Creek are some, far exceeding all others in some respects, where probably was once an ancient city of great extent. At the mouth of the Scioto are some very extensive ones, as well as at the mouth of the Muskingum. In fine, these works are thickly scattered over the vast plain from the southern shore of Lake Erie to the Mexican gulf, increasing in number, size, and grandeur, as we proceed towards the south. They may be traced around the gulf, across the province of Texas into New Mexico, and all the way into South America.' pp. 122—124.

Mr. Atwater, professing 'to examine with care and describe with fidelity those antiquities which are found in the state of Ohio,' proceeds to give an account of several of the most considerable and curious, from actual measurement and survey. We shall endeavour, by abridging some of his descriptions, and by a few extracts, to enable our readers to form an idea of the structure and dimensions of these very remarkable works.

The ancient works near Newark, in Licking county, are of great extent. A fort, nearly in the form of an octagon, enclosing about forty acres, constructed of walls ten feet high, is connected with a round fort of twenty-two acres, by parallel walls of equal height. Similar walls form a passage to the Licking river northerly, and run in a southerly direction to an unexplored distance. A like guarded pass-way, 800 chains in length, leads to a square fort containing twenty acres, which is in the same manner connected with a round one containing twenty-six acres. At the extremities of the outer passes, are what may be called 'round towers;' and adjacent to one of the forts is 'an observatory, partly of stone, thirty feet high.' 'It commanded a full view of a considerable part, if not all of the plain on which these ancient works stand; and would do so now, were the thick growth of aged forest trees which clothe this tract cleared away. Under this observatory was a passage, from appearances, and a secret one probably, to the water course which once run near this spot, but has since moved further off.'

'A few miles below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are some extraordinary holes dug in the earth. In popular language they are called "wells," but were not dug for the purpose of procuring water, either fresh or salt. There are at least a thousand of these wells; many of them are more than twenty feet in depth. A great deal of curiosity has been excited as to the objects sought for by the people who dug these holes.' p. 130.

In Perry county is a large stone work, of a triangular form, enclosing upwards of forty acres. This Mr. Atwater describes and then remarks,

'It is on high ground, and of course could not have been a place of habitation for any length of time. It might have been the place where some solemn feast was annually held by the tribe by which it was formed. The place has now become a forest, and the soil is too poor to have ever been cultivated by a people who invariably chose to dwell on a fertile spot.' p. 132.

There is next given a very particular description of the works at Marietta, extracted, with handsome acknowledgments, from a volume which contains some elaborate discussions upon the Western antiquities, but which can hardly be said to have been published, as copies enough were not sold to pay the engraver's bill, and most of the edition now remains on the shelves of the author.*

The works at Circleville are among the most perfect and curious in the whole region.

'There are two forts, one being an exact circle, the other an exact square. The former is surrounded by two walls, with a deep ditch between them. The latter is encompassed by one wall without any ditch. The former was sixty-nine feet in diameter, measuring from outside to outside of the circular outer wall; the latter is exactly fifty-five rods square, measuring the same way. The walls of the circular fort were at least twenty feet in height, measuring from the bottom of the ditch, before the town of Circleville was built. The inner wall was of clay, taken up probably in the northern part of the fort, where was a low place, and is still considerably lower than any other part of the work. The outside wall was taken from the ditch which is between these walls, and is alluvial, consisting of pebbles worn

* We refer to the 'Tour in Ohio,' by the author of a 'Poem on American Patronage.'

smooth in water, and sand, to a very considerable depth, more than fifty feet at least. The outside of the walls is about five or six feet in height now; on the inside, the ditch is at present generally not more than fifteen feet. They are disappearing before us daily, and will soon be gone. The walls of the square fort are, at this time, where left standing, about ten feet in height. There were eight gate-ways, or openings, leading into the square fort, and only one into the circular fort. Before each of these openings was a mound of earth, perhaps four feet high, forty feet perhaps in diameter at the base, and twenty or upwards at the summit. These mounds, for two rods or more, are exactly in front of the gate-ways, and were intended for the defence of these openings. As this work was a perfect square, so the gate-ways and their watch towers, were equidistant from each other. These mounds were in a perfectly straight line, and exactly parallel with the wall.' p. 141, 142.

'The extreme care of the authors of these works to protect and defend every part of the circle is no where visible about this square fort. The former is defended by two high walls; the latter by one. The former has a deep ditch encircling it; this has none. The former could be entered at one place only; this at eight, and those about twenty feet broad. The present town of Circleville covers all the round and the western half of the square fort.' p. 143.

'The walls of this work vary a few degrees from north and south, east and west; but not more than the needle varies, and not a few surveyors have, from this circumstance, been impressed with the belief that the authors of these works were acquainted with astronomy. What surprised me on measuring these forts, was the exact manner in which they had laid down their circle and square; so that after every effort, by the most careful survey to detect some error in their measurement, we found that it was impossible, and that the measurement was much more correct than it would have been in all probability, had the present inhabitants undertaken to construct such a work. Let those consider this circumstance, who affect to believe that these antiquities were raised by the ancestors of the present race of Indians.' p. 144.

Our author describes also the works at Paint Creek, which are less regular in their structure, and enclose elevations of an elliptical, a triangular, and a crescent form; those at Portsmouth; those on the Little Miami; and those at Cincinnati; but, as a just idea of them, and indeed of those which we have mentioned above, is dependent upon the draw-

ings to which a constant reference is made, we must refer our readers to the book itself, assuring them that it will highly gratify their curiosity and reward their examination.

We have next a description of the mounds, which are of three kinds: 1. tumuli of earth; which appear to be cemeteries, or monuments in honour of the illustrious dead: 2. conical piles, principally of stone; which might have been altars, or formed for sacred purposes: and 3. pyramidical mounds; which are supposed to have been observatories, or watch-towers.

'The mounds, or tumuli of earth, are of various altitudes and dimensions, some being only four or five feet in height, and ten or twelve feet in diameter at their base; whilst others, as we travel to the south, rise to the height of eighty and ninety feet.

'They are generally, when completed, in the form of a cone. Those in the north part of Ohio are inferior in size, and fewer in number, than those along the river. The mounds are believed to exist from the Rocky Mountains in the west to the Alleghanies in the east; from the southern shore of lake Erie to the Mexican gulf; and though few and small in the north, numerous and lofty in the south, yet exhibit proofs of a common origin.' p. 167.

In the subsequent pages, Mr. Atwater describes a variety of articles found in the mounds, and accompanies his description with drawings; and they clearly prove that the constructors of these works possessed a knowledge of some of the arts, particularly of making 'vases of calcarious breccia,' of forming what seems to have been armour of copper, and of fabricating various implements of materials, of forms, and for purposes unknown to any tribe of the Indians who have inhabited that region for at least the three last centuries. We think it highly important that all such relics should be carefully preserved in some public museum; as a comparison of them with those taken from the northern Asiatic mounds, and those from the Teocalli at Mexico, will show whether those who constructed the works on the Ohio and the Mississippi were descendants of the Tartay or Scythians and progenitors of the Mexicans, or rather of their predecessors, the original inhabitants of Peru.

Mentioning the *mounds of stone*, Mr. Atwater says,

'These works are, like those of earth, in form of a cone, composed of small stones, on which no marks of tools are visible. In

them some of the most interesting articles are found, as urns, ornaments of copper, heads of spears, &c. of the same metal, as well as medals of copper, and pickaxes of hornblend; several drawings of which may be seen in this volume.' p. 184.

This department of his investigations our author closes with the following remarks:

'A careful survey of the abovementioned works would probably show that they were all connected, and formed but parts of a whole, laid out with taste.

'Following the river Ohio downwards, the mounds appear on both sides, erected uniformly on the highest alluvions along that stream. Those at Marietta, Portsmouth, and Cincinnati, are noticed elsewhere. Their numbers increase all the way to the Mississippi, on which river they assume the largest size.

'These tumuli, as well as the fortifications, are to be found at the junction of all the rivers along the Mississippi in the most eligible positions for towns, and in the most extensive bodies of fertile lands. Their number exceeds, perhaps, three thousand; the smallest not less than twenty feet in height, and one hundred in diameter at the base. Their great number, and the astonishing size of some of them, may be regarded as furnishing, with other circumstances, evidence of their antiquity.' p. 188.

'One of the mounds, nearly opposite St. Louis, is eight hundred yards in circumference at the base, and one hundred feet in height. Mr. Brackenridge noticed a mound at New Madrid of three hundred and fifty feet in diameter at the base. Other large ones are in the following places, viz. at St. Louis, one with two stages, another with three; at the mouth of the Missouri; at the mouth of Cahokia river in two groups; twenty miles below, two groups also, but the mounds of a smaller size; on the bank of a lake, formerly the bed of a river, at the mouth of Marameck, St. Genevieve; one near Washington, Mississippi state, of one hundred and forty-six feet in height; at Baton Rouge, and on the bayou Manchac; one of the mounds near the lake is composed chiefly of shells: the inhabitants have taken great quantities of them for lime.

'The mound on Black river has two stages and a group around. At each of the above places there are groups of mounds, and there was probably once a city. Mr. Brackenridge thinks that the largest city belonging to this people was situated between the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Illinois. On the plains between the Arkansas and St. Francis, there are several very large mounds.

'Thus it will be seen, that these remains, which were so few and small along the northern lakes, are more and more numerous as we travel in a southwestern direction, until we reach the Mississippi, where they are lofty and magnificent.' p. 189.

—'We see a line of ancient works, reaching from the south side of lake Ontario across this state, to the banks of the Mississippi, along the banks of that river, through the upper part of the province of Texas, around the Mexican gulf, quite into Mexico:—increasing in number, improving in every respect as we have followed them; and showing the increased numbers and improved condition of their authors, as they migrated towards the country where they finally settled.

'It is true, that no historian has told us the names of the mighty chieftains, whose ashes are inurned in our tumuli; no poet's song has been handed down to us, in which their exploits are noticed. History has not informed us who were their priests, their orators, their ablest statesmen, or their greatest warriors. But we find idols that shew that the same gods were worshipped here as in Mexico.—The works left behind them are exactly similar to those in Mexico and Peru; and our works are continued quite into that country.' p. 248.

In some of the nitrous caves in Kentucky exsiccated bodies have been found, which are called 'mummies,' though it does not appear that they were ever embalmed. Of these the following account is given;

'The mummies have generally been found enveloped in three coverings; first in a coarse species of linen cloth, of about the consistency and texture of cotton bagging. It was evidently woven by the same kind of process, which is still practised in the interior part of Africa. The warp being extended by some slight kind of machinery, the woof was passed across it, and then twisted every two threads of the warp together, before the second passage of the filling. This seems to have been the first rude method of weaving in Asia, Africa, and America. The second envelope of the mummies is a kind of net work, of coarse threads, formed of very small loose meshes, in which were fixed the feathers of various kinds of birds, so as to make a perfectly smooth surface, lying all in one direction. The art of this tedious, but beautiful manufacture, was well understood in Mexico, and still exists on the northwest coast of America, and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. In those isles it is the state or court dress. The third and outer envelope of these mummies is either like the one first described, or it consists of leather sewed together.' p. 231.

It is but justice to say, that the active, zealous, and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Atwater in collecting the materials which compose the principal part of the volume before us, and in obtaining such accurate measurements and delineations, do him much honour. He has furnished information respecting these wonderful structures, which is more satisfactory than has ever before been given to the public; and his labours are particularly valuable and meritorious, because the antiquities which he has so minutely and accurately described are constantly mouldering away, and every year becoming more and more indistinct; and, as the forests are cleared, settlements made, and the land cultivated, they will one after another be levelled and obliterated.

The latter part of the volume consists of 'an account of the present state of the Indian tribes inhabiting the Ohio,' by John Johnston Esq. United States agent for Indian affairs; 'Conjectures respecting the ancient inhabitants of North America,' by Moses Fiske Esq.; 'Antiquities and Curiosities of Western Pennsylvania,' by President Alden; 'Communications,' by Dr. S. Mitchill; 'Description of a remarkable cave in Kentucky,' by J. H. Farnham; 'An account of the exsiccated body, or mummy, found in a cave,' by Charles Wilkins Esq.; and a very interesting 'account of the Caraibs who inhabited the Antilles,' by William Sheldon Esq. of Jamaica.

ART. XIII.—*Memoires Historiques sur la vie de M. Suard, sur ses écrits, et sur le* 18^{me} *Siècle, par Dominique Joseph Garat.* Paris, 8vo, 2 vols. 1820.

THIS, we are sorry to say, is a very indifferent work. The plan is bad, and the execution not much better. We cannot, in conscience, recommend it to our readers; but having taken the trouble to go through it ourselves, we hope to be able to turn the time and labour employed upon it to some account, by extracting a part of the more instructive and amusing passages. The least valuable book generally contains something worth attention, as it has been observed, that some fruit may be gathered from the conversation of the dullest companion.

The author of this work sustained a conspicuous part in

the French revolution, and held the office of Minister of Justice, at its worst period. It was he who announced to the unfortunate Louis XVI the sentence passed upon him by the Convention, and who presided, as the superior judicial officer, over all the proceedings connected with his trial and execution. And yet Garat was not by nature a person of a savage and ferocious character. He possessed, on the contrary, the fine taste and feelings, that accompany a delicate physical organization, and his mind was early disciplined by literary studies. Before the opening of the revolution, he had obtained a considerable reputation by several publications of a fugitive kind, and was a promising candidate for higher literary eminence. Unfortunately his mind was heated by the political effervescence of the time, and with intentions originally honest and philanthropic, he was hurried on, step by step, to take a leading part in scenes of horror, that would have disgraced the worst of savages. This, like a thousand other examples of the same description, may serve to inculcate the useful lesson, that, when party disputes run high, the best intentions and the most respectable personal qualities are compatible with the most atrocious line of conduct; and may teach us to pause, when those, whom we ordinarily respect and esteem, would persuade us for political purposes to follow them to the perpetration of treason and murder.

Attracted into the vortex of political affairs, and absorbed by their details, before his views on general subjects were sufficiently matured, Mr. Garat has brought to the present enterprise a large stock of superficial reading on various subjects, accompanied by a very slender share of original thought. It is his plan to connect with a biographical sketch of Mr. Suard a review of the progress of knowledge, and in some measure of political events during the eighteenth century. It is difficult to imagine a more absurd and incongruous scheme. Suard, a man of real merit in his way, and a good writer, was a person of a most unassuming character, and passed his whole life in a secondary sphere of action. He neither took the lead in the opinions, nor in the events of his time. He received his philosophical impressions from the loftier spirits, that were shaking the world around him, and communicated them to the public through the journal, of which he was the editor. He was either too modest or too indolent to turn his talent for writing to any account, and

was satisfied, to use the language of one of our own writers, 'with adding a nameless stone to the pyramid of his country's glory.' He was admitted into the Academy on the strength of his good character, and his translation of Robertson's Charles V; and his greatest original effort is admitted by his biographer to have been a few letters published in his journal, upon the musical quarrel that raged at one time with so much bitterness at Paris; and even these he never avowed. Such was the person, who is now marked out for the leading figure in a group, composed of the most distinguished characters of the eighteenth century.

A plan so defective might have been remedied in part by a better execution. A rich stock of biographical anecdotes and valuable remarks, relating to the literary history of the period in question, would have been interesting under any title. Instead of this, we have a very small proportion of narrative, and an overwhelming mass of crude and indigested speculation upon all sorts of subjects. The author talks long and largely upon every thing, and has evidently reflected with precision and justice upon nothing. His style is the image of his matter, ambitious without effect, and diffuse without perspicuity. Superficial views are obtruded with pomp and bustle, and in all the imposing majesty of Italics and Capitals, as profound and original conclusions. And this is the more unpleasant, as the principles of the work are professedly liberal, and it therefore has the effect of an injudicious and unsuccessful defence of a good cause. There is, however, a slender strain of narrative running through the whole, which is interesting and attractive, from the great characters to which it relates, and it is to this that we shall principally attach ourselves in the present article, with some occasional remarks on the general subjects introduced and discussed in the work.

One of Suard's earliest productions was a eulogy on Louis XV. A prize had been offered by a provincial academy for the best performance on this subject, and Suard obtained it. A part of this eulogy was occupied with an account of the distinguished writers of the time; and the merit and genius of Montesquieu were particularly extolled. The illustrious president was pleased with this tribute of applause, and sought the acquaintance of the young writer. This was among the first circumstances, that gave him an introduction into the

higher literary circles. The following passage contains some interesting details of the domestic life of Montesquieu, and of his opinions.

'Scarce was Montesquieu's wish to see M. Suard known, but it was fulfilled. M. Suard, like Eucrates before Sylla, felt little of that confusion before Montesquieu, into which one is commonly thrown, by the presence of great men. Whether alone, or in company, with this great genius, he was at ease, as one always is, when happy. It is true, that no man, of great or of small talents, was ever more simple than Montesquieu in his deportment and manners; and he was as much so, in the saloons of Paris, as upon his estate at the Brède, where, among his lawns, his fountains, and his English groves, he passed the day, from morning to night, with a white cotton cap on his head, and a long vine pole on his shoulder; and where those, who came to present to him the homage of Europe, asked him more than once, *en le tutoyant*, like a vine-dresser, "if that were the castle of Montesquieu." Whenever he spoke, of which he was neither profuse, nor sparing, you felt sure that it was Montesquieu. It was by turns the sprightly gaiety of Ricca, the vast and rapid views of Usbeck; sometimes the energetical and poetical expression of passion of Roxana, and always the same energy, when his hatred of despotism kindled his imagination. *His defence of the Esprit des Lois*, said d'Alembert, *was the image of his conversation; his conversation was equal to his writings.* Fénélon, Montesquieu, and Voltaire are the only great writers, who have displayed, to this degree, the gift of speech. M. Suard, as good a judge in this respect as d'Alembert, was of this opinion.

This period in the life of Suard was one of those, of which he recalled the memory with the greatest delight. He, who knew more by reflection than memory, recollected, even to the very words, some of his conversations with Montesquieu. "Come, gentlemen," said he one day to the Abbé Raynal, to Helvetius, to Dr. Roux, and M. Suard, "you are at the age of great efforts, and of great success. *I exhort you to be useful to men, as the greatest happiness of life;* I have never suffered a mortification, of which one half hour's meditation could not soften the bitterness. For myself, I have done; I have fired away all my cartridges; my tapers are all burned out. You are beginning; take good aim at the mark; I have not hit it, but, I think, I have had sight of it. Man has not been able, has not been willing, to remain in that instinct, in which he was safe enough, though not far removed from the brutes. In seeking to raise himself up to reason, he has produced and consecrated the most monstrous errors. His virtues and his enjoyments were obliged to share the imperfection of his

ideas. Nations surround themselves with the luxuries of wealth, with the luxuries of the understanding; and individuals, meantime, are too often destitute alike of bread and common sense. To insure them all, bread, common sense, and the virtues necessary for them, there is but one way.—You must enlighten the people and the rulers: that is the duty of the philosopher; that is your duty."'

If the opinions here ascribed to Montesquieu are correctly reported, it would appear that his views in regard to the comparative advantages of savage and civilized life were similar to those of Rousseau. It may be doubted, however, whether his ideas were precisely seized or accurately remembered. It is certain that no theory of this kind appears in his writings. The story of the Troglodytes in the Persian Letters, which is an apologue intended to explain the origin and progress of society, proceeds upon quite a different system. The happiness and comfort of life are there attributed altogether to social institutions. As to the merits of the question, we have never felt for ourselves the full force of the arguments by which the savage state is exalted above the social; and whatever plausibility can be given to this opinion results, we apprehend, rather from an eloquent statement of the inconveniences of society, than from a fair comparison of the two conditions. It strikes us at first blush that a well built house is a much pleasanter habitation than a bark hut, a nest in the branches of a tree, or a bed under it; and without pretending to justify all the cuts and slashes of modern tailoring, we consider a good woollen coat as clearly preferable to an undressed sheep-skin. A part of this preference may be the effect of habit. It is possible that a New Hollander may feast with as much *goût* upon the fat worm that he picks out of a piece of rotten wood, as a London Alderman upon his turtle, or a French *Gourmand* upon his turkey stuffed with truffles; and that a Hottentot belle feels as much pride in putting on a fresh array of that peculiar ornament, which we forbear to name, as a Boston fine lady in displaying a new Cachemire. But such is the strength of our prejudices, that even admitting this to be the fact, we should still feel a satisfaction, for various reasons, that the lines had fallen to us in the land of turkeys and Cachemires.

We have been careful to oppose the phrase 'savage' life to that of 'civilized' life, and not to contrast the latter, with

what is commonly called 'a state of nature.' This definition of a savage state is, at least, a begging of the question. We are decidedly of opinion, that a savage state is not the state of nature, if by a state of nature be meant that state in which we were designed to exist, for which our natures fit us, and in which our faculties attain their development, and fulfil the offices for which they were given. But this, though an important speculation, is one into which we forbear at present to enter.

Our author enlarges greatly in praise of Montesquieu, and extols particularly the Spirit of Laws. His praises are given with very little discrimination, and are merely an echo of the prevailing public opinion. We confess, however, if we may venture for once to place our own judgment in opposition to the general voice, that we have not been able to discover, in the Spirit of Laws, all the merit that is commonly attributed to it. We are inclined to think that it is more praised than read, and more read than understood; and that, instead of making the reputation of its author, it depends upon his great name for a part of its own popularity. Montesquieu was a writer of the highest standing when this work was published, and a great work from a distinguished writer is commonly received with approbation. When we examine it nearly, we perceive a mass of detached observations, but find it almost impossible to discover the plan that connects them together. We meet occasionally with fine thoughts, excellent principles, and eloquent passages, but we seek in vain for the great truths, which it is the object of so extensive a work to establish. The book is fatiguing to read, and we rise from it without any precise or definite instruction. The correctness of the distinction taken at the commencement between the principles of different governments is extremely questionable; and a considerable part of the differences of situation, to which the author attributes the varieties of laws are the consequences, instead of being the causes, of this variety. The chapters on the British constitution, which are among the remarkable passages of the work, contain a theory entirely superficial, and not defended at present by good authorities. The Spirit of Laws, like the Prince of Machiavel, though in a less degree, has been, from the time of its publication, regarded by many of the best judges, as a sort of enigma. Voltaire, who had the art of accommodating his remarks to

his audience, observed in public that 'the human race had lost their title deeds, but that Montesquieu had found and restored them.'—A splendid, though not a very definite enconium; but in the confidence of private conversation, he remarked to the Prince de Ligne, that the Spirit of Laws was a work above his comprehension, *Je n'ai pas l'honneur de le comprendre;* and Voltaire was not deficient in acuteness. Professor Stewart, in his late essay on the progress of the moral sciences, has resorted, for the purpose of explaining the object of this work, to a supposition similar to that which has often been made with regard to Machiavel's Prince. He considers it as intended in part to attack established abuses in a covert way, by tracing them to vicious principles. Such attempts at explanation, if they prove nothing else, shew at least that these works are deficient in perspicuity, the first of merits.

The Essay on the Greatness and Fall of the Romans is liable in part to the same objections. After reading it through, we have no distinct impression of the author's opinion, in regard to the principal subject. We have passed through a gallery, embellished with bright views and well-drawn portraits, but we still ask, what were the causes of the greatness and fall of the Romans? And the work affords no distinct answer. The historical facts supposed, are not always sufficiently correct, a defect which is more perceptible at the present day, from the great extent to which the researches into these subjects have been pushed since the time of Montesqueiu. An author would not now venture to assign as one of the causes of the prosperity of Rome, the remarkable and uninterrupted succession of great characters exhibited in the persons of their kings. It is quite evident and is now generally admitted, that this period of the Roman history is almost wholly fabulous, and that the ground work of truth which may lie concealed under the mythological and poetical embellishments that make up the story, is too uncertain, to be taken as a foundation for any reasoning or theory whatever. We need, in this connexion, but allude to the Roman history of Mr. Niebuhr, a work, however fanciful the peculiar views which it teaches, which has sufficiently established the apocryphal character of the accounts of the Roman monarchy.

The masterpiece of Montesquieu, the work that founded

his reputation, and the one upon which we are inclined to think it will ultimately rest, is the Persian Letters. It has some *juvenilia*, as the author himself admitted in the latter part of his life, although it was written after thirty. But for reach of thought upon a great variety of important subjects, for extent of information supposed and not obtruded in detail, for point and precision of language, for gracefulness of narrative and description, for strength of reasoning and keenness of raillery, it is a work almost without a parallel. None that we recollect can be mentioned, in which such a variety of excellencies are united in so high degrees. Every line in it is an epigram; and some of these epigrams contain as much instruction as a voluminous work. Thus, we have a body of criticism upon Spanish literature in a single short sentence, which has passed into a proverb: 'The Spaniards have but one good book, and the object of this is to prove the worthlessness of all the rest.' The comparative value of original composition and of translation is exhibited in a still shorter apophthegm: 'Si vous traduisez toujours on ne vous traduira jamais.'

The literary circle, that assembled at the house of Madame Geoffrin, appears to have been one of the most agreeable of the time, and was much frequented by Suard. Fontenelle was the president of this club, being then nearly a century old and extremely deaf, so that he could only hear through a trumpet, and that with much difficulty. The conversation, we should conceive, could hardly, under these circumstances, have been very general or very amusing.

The following passage gives some account of the manner in which it proceeded.

'His extreme deafness allowed Fontenelle no longer to introduce, to interrupt, and to resume his stories and anecdotes, so much *à propos* as he had formerly done. A trumpet is an inconvenient and very imperfect instrument of conversation. And yet he helped himself often in a manner highly pleasant, and quite to the advantage of Madame Geoffrin's saloon.

'He had some anecdotes long enough to serve as episodes to larger ones. He would sometimes take one of these last, for a beginning, and follow it to the end, in the most perfect succession of circumstances and their consequences. Sometimes it was the massacres at the revocation of the edict of Nantes; sometimes it was Jansenism and Quietism; sometimes it was intrigues still

more private in the cabinet or the convents. If one could have taken down, in short hand, all he said, we should have possessed, said M. Suard, these anecdotes, so important a portion of history, in the manner of two great masters. The pencil of Voltaire would no doubt have been more brilliant; but the philosophy of Fontenelle, on such subjects, would have outweighed that of Voltaire.

'At other times, when he saw the countenances of the company highly attentive, and their organs of speech in busy motion, he would request to be told through his trumpet the topic of conversation, the point they were upon, the *chapter*, as he used to call it. He would then gather himself together profoundly, converse with himself; and then give an account of the conversation, which Fontenelle had been having with Fontenelle: so that Madame Geoffrin's saloon was in a situation to compare the views of this philosopher, with the views of those, who had been engaged in the discussion.

'It seemed that Fontenelle had made a business of practising these dialogues with himself. He recommendod the practice of them highly, as well for the art of thinking as of being happy: and these recommendations have grown into precepts in his valuable writings on eloquence and morals.

'M. Suard availed himself very happily of a taste, in which Fontenelle still more indulged, in order to give an idea of his own taste, in that saloon where many of the literary reputations of the day began and were matured.'

'The theories of the understanding, which had filled so important a place, perhaps the first place in human knowledge since the days of Bacon and Descartes, had much occupied Fontenelle in his youth. He seemed, however, for a long time to renounce the subject. But the ruling passion of his life, which he retained when nearly a century old, was still metaphysics. This subject forced him from that fine familiar style, for which nature had probably formed him, but which he had also cultivated as a point of duty to the cause of truth. At this age, when in general the imagination of those who have been most controlled by it, expires, he pourtrayed, by a great image, *the power excited by a theory of the faculties of the human mind*, derived at once from the organization of man, and from the chefs d' oeuvre of reason, already consecrated by that universal assent, which never yields itself but to evidence. "Such a theory," said Fontenelle, "will prove a great luminary, suspended between the good sense common to all, the genius of the fine arts, and the genius of the sciences; it will bring them to each other, it will unite them, in teaching them that they proceed from a common source."'

It would seem that in delivering this theory of the intellect, Fontenelle, whose memory had probably decayed with his hearing, had forgotten his own favourite maxim of endeavouring to understand his own meaning before he attempted to instruct others. The *great luminary* throws but little light upon the subject; and it is rather difficult to obtain a distinct view of the old philosopher's system. Mr. Suard appears to have been dissatisfied with it, whatever it was, and attempted at one time to dispute it in conversation. It is not always, that a naturally modest man can command a perfect freedom of mind in communicating his ideas upon important subjects, before a mixed company, in the ordinary tone of voice; and it is easy to conceive the embarrassment he must have felt, in discussing a delicate point of metaphysics, from shouting through an ear trumpet. It appears that Suard acquitted himself with some success; but as we are not informed of the arguments he used, we are as much in the dark on this side of the question as the other.

'Being unable to converse, but by the aid of this instrument, so inconvenient in the company, it was particularly on subjects like these, that Fontenelle talked on, listening however very attentively to the expression of the countenances of those, who assembled round him. When he saw in these that he was not understood, that his audience did not comprehend him or did not agree with him, he would take the trumpet, always hanging to the arm of his chair or resting on his knee, and turn towards the significant countenances.

'One can conceive how necessary it must have been to possess not only some courage, but some gift of speech, to go and pronounce in Fontenelle's ear, that which his trumpet would make the room ring with. But ideas rendered familiar by studies well directed and often revised, afford the most modest persons boldness to express them, even before an imposing audience. M. Suard was so familiar with Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, that he triumphed over his diffidence, enough to avow to Fontenelle before so many witnesses, points of agreement and of disagreement between his own views and those of the fathers of the English metaphysics. And the saloon of Madame Geoffrin, Fontenelle, and above all M. Suard himself, were surprised and delighted at the fluency with which he conversed on these subjects, *en homme, qui tachait déjà de si bien entendre lui-même.*'

We hear but little in the present work of Voltaire and Rousseau, probably because they lived but little in the socie-

ties of Paris. More is said of Helvetius, Diderot, Baron Holbach, and the circle which surrounded them, although neither the author nor Suard had embraced their philosophical and religious opinions. It is well known that this knot of philosophers gave themselves out and passed current in the world for atheists. This system has sometimes been regarded by persons strongly under the influence of religious feelings as a reach of impiety too desperate to be ventured upon by any intelligent being, and it has accordingly been asserted that no real atheist ever existed. It is certain, however, that the society alluded to above publicly professed and defended a system, to which they gave the name of atheism, and attacked the commonly received notions of theism. But it may be doubted whether their opinions, if examined more accurately, really merited the name which they applied to them; and it is perhaps true, that no real atheist ever existed, not because there is nobody daring enough to adopt such a system; but because the system is itself incongruous and absurd. The order of the universe must necessarily be referred to a regulating principle, commonly called a first cause, or to chance. The first of these systems is theism, which divides itself into a variety of sects according to the different opinions that are entertained in regard to the nature of this first cause. The system which attributes the order of the universe to chance is commonly called atheism. But this does not seem to have been the system of the French materialists. They appear to have admitted a regulating principle, the nature of which they explained in a manner somewhat at variance with the popular notions. They must therefore be regarded as a sect of theists. But even the doctrine of chance resolves itself ultimately into theism. When the epicurean, in order to avoid the supposition of a first cause, has resorted to the pitiful absurdity of accounting for the order of the universe by the accidental concourse of moving atoms, the difficulty is not removed a single step. The question returns with the same force respecting the existence of matter and motion, which are both supposed in this system. It is still necessary to admit a principle of motion, which is equivalent to the admission of a first cause and amounts to the doctrine of theism. No imaginable theory can be started to account for the problem of the universe, which does not ultimately resolve itself into this. Hence

the odious and revolting form under which the French materialists presented their ideas appears to have arisen in a great measure from a misconception of the real nature of the point in controversy. In making these remarks it is of course not our intention to defend the doctrines of this sect; nor can we enter at large into the discussion of the subject, which is of too grave a character to suit the present occasion.

Baron Holbach was the most active member of this *cotérie*, and published a number of works in support of their system, all anonymous. Among them is the book entitled Common Sense [le Bon Sens.] The baron was a German, and when he first came to Paris a very decided theist. The professed atheism of Diderot gave him great offence, and he used every effort to effect his conversion. Unfortunately instead of succeeding in his object, he became himself the proselyte of his intended convert. The account of this affair is somewhat curious.

'The case was wholly different with the German philosopher, naturalized a French one. For a long while an adorer of the God, whom he beheld in the laws and order of the universe, he cherished toward those whom he loved, and who had not the same faith, the zeal of a missionary. He pursued the unbelief of Diderot into the *Ateliers*, where the editor of the Encyclopedia, surrounded by machines and workmen, drew himself for the great dictionary the designs in all the arts, [?] and threw off his text from those machines, which disclose of themselves so creative a spirit; and asked him if he could doubt that they had been conceived and arranged, by some intelligence. The application was striking, but did not, however, strike either the reason or the heart of Diderot. The friend of Diderot bursting into tears, falls at his feet. It is said of St. Paul, when struck from his horse while in pursuit of the christians, "he falls a persecutor and rises an apostle." The opposite to this took place in the present case. He fell upon his knees a theist, and arose an atheist. He did not draw Diderot from the abyss, without bottom and without hope, of atheism. Diderot drew him into it.

'This proselytism so fervent, and so natural in the cause of theism, was carried by the Baron Holbach (it would be useless, at this day, to conceal his name) into the cause of atheism; a doctrine which ought to be so remote from proselytism, inasmuch as it renounces every hope for the future. Diderot had written only fragments, pages, sentences in favour of these doctrines, which even Rousseau found *si desolantes*. Volumes multiplied them-

selves from the pen of Baron Holbach, to establish and diffuse them. His society was an open course where its professors stationed themselves in relay, to strengthen its proofs. The Abbé Galiani, a great improvisator, speaks one day against God and the next for him. The *pro* and the *con* are both heard, *for they were not very intolerant in defence of toleration.* M. Suard, who had been very intimate with the baron, before this revolution of his theological principles, did not lose his affection for him, though he combated them with the doctrines of Newton and Clarke, which were also his own. It was even the period, at which they interchanged the marks of the most entire confidence and of the most devoted friendship.'

The baron was not only an indifferent thinker, but a dull writer; and without the attraction of a fine style, his doctrines, had they been as sound as they were erroneous, would have stood but little chance of gaining the public attention. Elegance and grace were qualities below his ambition. He only aimed at logical strength and perspicuity. Had he possessed a better acquaintance with the principles of composition, he would have known that these two sorts of merit are only different fruits of the same stock. A sure taste, that seizes instinctively on the proper word to express an idea, is the source of all the beauty, as well as all the force and clearness of language. The baron, finding by experience that his style was not popular, applied to his friends for their advice and assistance in improving it, and frequently read his works to them in manuscript. Suard, especially, was resorted to for this purpose. On these occasions he invariably fell asleep, and that to a degree of soundness, which made his situation perceptible to more than one sense. This was a most significant and ominous critique; but the baron was too well satisfied with his powers, and too zealous in the propagation of his system to profit by it, although he was too good humoured to take any personal offence.

'Buffon and Diderot, who were much criticised and more read, were well able to give the Baron Holbach lessons as well as examples of this art of embellishing, of animating, of disguising the philosophical style, without taking any thing from its precision. But it was a matter of taste and not of genius. The baron sought the man whose counsels he needed in M. Suard, who, writing nothing but scraps, wrote them with the more care; and who, reading and weighing all the great writers, without raising himself by laborious works to the place which he might have filled

among them, was the better acquainted with all the modes of pleasing, from being himself enslaved to none.

'But in order to give the baron a full idea of the art, which he wanted, it was necessary to hear him read his works, for his chapters were long and his voice monotonous. The greater the efforts which M. Suard made to keep awake, the plainer these efforts were, and it became soon but too evident, that he was fast asleep. It is much easier to forgive a criticism, which you can turn to some account, than to pardon a sleeping, which humiliates without instructing you. Baron Holbach, however, always smiled at the recurrence of these slumbers, and seemed to be present to watch his friend's repose.'

The following anecdote is equally honourable to both parties. It is not an every day delicacy that would place the disinterested donation of a friend in time of need upon the same footing with the largesses of the improvident Roman emperors described by Tacitus, which could neither be bestowed nor accepted consistently with the safety of the state.*

'There had been for some time a melancholy on M. Suard's countenance, of which the cause was in his mind, but which Baron Holbach attributed to the poverty of the men of letters, who consult their ease, or mingle in the society of the opulent. One day M. Suard beheld the Baron Holbach entering his chamber, with the air of a man who has something to propose, which he dislikes to avow. It is not merely that he wishes to spare the delicacy of his friend; he has his own to conquer. Something however must be said. He begs M. Suard to accept ten thousand franks [£2000], which he had brought him, of which he has no need himself, which he has no other pleasant or honorable way of getting rid of. M. Suard assures him that he is also wholly without occasion for the money, but cannot persuade the baron. The offer and the refusal being repeatedly exchanged, with equal emotion on the one side and the other, it was necessary to do something to finish the scene. M. Suard acquainted him with the cause of his melancholy, and promised him that if he should ever want this sum of money, he would immediately write him, "send me the ten thousand franks."'

We should hardly think it necessary to advert to Mr. Suard's marriage, were it not for the singularly meritorious character of the family, with which it connected him, and especially of his brother-in-law, the bookseller Pankouke,

* Sapientibus jamdudum cassa videbantur, quæ neque dari neque accipi, salva republica, poterant.

or (as we take the plain English rendering of this rather formidable name of Dutch original to be) Pancake. Pankouke was a bookseller of the genuine, old-fashioned, open-hearted stamp, a legitimate successor of the Aldi, the Elzevirs, and the Stephens of former days. His press, his table, his purse, every thing was at the service of the learned. He printed their books, lent them money, fed them at his board, and gave them his sisters in marriage. No author left his house unrewarded. After concluding a treaty for a work, he has been known to advance a hundred thousand franks beyond the bargain.

'Views so extensive and acts so noble rendered him the equal and the friend of the men of genius, for whom his presses were at work. His carriage was often to be seen on the road to Montmorency going to Rousseau; of Montbard, to Buffon; of Ferney, to Voltaire; and as the works of these immortal writers had become matters of state, from their retreats his carriage conveyed him to the ministers of the king at Versailles, who received him as a functionary, who had also his portfolio.

'A reputation so novel excited no jealousy among his brethren, because this reputation redounded to the honour of the trade; because in their embarrassments he always set an example of sacrifices, and this example was followed by others. One seems to be present at the origin of one of those Italian families, whose sovereignty began in their counting-houses, in their account-books and bales of wool; and who had enough of the sentiment of true glory, to preserve at the top of their houses, after they became sovereign, the windlass, with which the bales were raised into their magazines.

'Had he lived in countries and periods, where he could have cherished such an ambition, the pride of M. Pankouke would have indulged in fairer visions. He sought wealth, sought it earnestly, because he was persuaded that in absolute monarchies, there is no real liberty, no genuine manumission but for great characters united to great fortunes. He wished to be rich, that he might be generous to those, whom he loved; to his wife, his children, his friends, the great geniuses which his profession drew about him; and these qualifications so noble, so desirable even in the eye of reason, were almost always within his reach. His houses at Paris and at Boulogne, like those of Helvetius and the baron d'Holbach, assembled the literati, the artists, and the savans. He not only printed the works of others, he printed his own. Amidst all the confusion of the details of a commerce of several millions (of franks), he not only found time, but felt a

desire to write. He translated Ariosto; he sounded the depths of the nature of the beautiful; he endeavoured to simplify for his children the rules of the French grammar.—These were not great productions, but they showed that he was equal even to them. In his wife's parlour, in the study of his children, partitions opening on pianos, stands covered with drawings, every thing breathed the taste for the arts, and scarce allowed you to perceive the movement of the affairs, by which he gave an impulse to France and to Europe.'

Such was the character of this exemplary and highly meritorious bookseller; an example truly worthy of imitation. What bookseller in the United States would advance twenty thousand dollars beyond his bargain? He that should do it would be laughed at for his simplicity, rather than extolled as a Mecenas. We go farther, and ask, what bookseller in the United States would offer twenty thousand dollars, for any book that could be written. In other countries when a gentleman has been at the trouble of writing a book, there is a competition among the booksellers to know who shall have the honour of printing it, and the author puts what price he pleases upon his manuscript. Here, on the contrary, it is not always that he can persuade the booksellers to print. We could name a most valuable treatise on the Revolutions of Empires, written by a President of one of our first literary institutions, which has been offered for years at all the booksellers' shops in New England, and has not yet seen the light nor probably ever will. As to the idea of receiving any money for the copyright, it would be thought the height of presumption in a writer to expect it. It is quite enough if the bookseller will do him the favor of printing his work, and will take the trouble of sending it about to his correspondents, with a proviso that he shall take the profits himself, if there be any, and leave the author the chance of a loss. It is compensation enough for the latter to see his name in the title page. We hear much of the paucity of good books published in this country, but we cannot help thinking that much of the blame of it is to be attributed to the booksellers. If these gentlemen, instead of investing their capital in republications of foreign works, from which they derive no honour and little profit, the sale being in general barely enough to cover the expense,—if, we say, instead of this, they would hold out a generous encouragement for the

production of original compositions,—if they would offer twenty thousand dollars for a history,—ten thousand for a poem or a novel, and so in proportion; and would then, like the illustrious Pankouke, throw in a few thousand dollars above the bargain, to put the author in good spirits,—we should find the reproach of our literary poverty disappearing very fast. We should soon have a class of standard national works, that, after making the fortune of their writers, would become a lasting and valuable property to the booksellers that bought the copies; while the foreign books, which they now reprint, are all ephemeral, and, like fancy goods, are not worth a dollar to them after the first momentary demand is over. But we must leave this interesting subject, upon which we could say much more, and return to our immediate business.

As the work draws towards its close, the slender thread of narrative, to which we have alluded, and which we have made our guide in the article, gradually grows slenderer, like the zone of the white Lady of Avenel, and at last almost wholly disappears; while the author launches out into his ordinary style of speculation upon the French Revolution, and the more important revolution of ideas, by which he says it was preceded. He puts forward his finest display of Italics and Capitals, in the enunciation of this hypothesis, which he evidently considers both original and important. We shall not pretend to examine it at large, any more than to follow M. Garat through his long political discussion. It may be observed, however, that the supposition, which makes a change in ideas precede a change in things, is obviously the exact reverse of the truth. Ideas are the expressions of things, and can no more change, without a previous change in the things they express, than a weathercock can shift before the wind does. An accurate observer may notice a change in opinions, before the change in things to which it corresponds has become publicly notorious, as the barometer indicates a variation in the weather, a few hours before we perceive it in any other way. But the change of opinions, like the rise and fall of the mercury, is the consequence and not the cause of a change in the state of things. But instead of filling up the little space we have left, with abstract discussions and general remarks, we shall rather devote it to a few more extracts, relating to literary history, which we are sure the reader will like much better.

The quarrel between Hume and Rousseau is one of the interesting episodes, that occur at this period. We have not room to enter into all the details of it, which are also pretty generally known. The following passage contains some amusing particulars connected with it.

'Although at variance with the philosophers for many reasons, for his philosophy, which did not go the length of theirs, for his eloquence, which was not in their style, for his conduct, which was not that of the world; Jean Jacques, in the days of the persecution of the Emilius, was not abondoned by the philosophers. They felt all that there was excellent in the work, and felt still more sensibly perhaps the injustice and violence of the pastoral letters of the bishops and the sentences of the courts of justice. Not being able to protect him from the persecution of these two powers, who do not always yield to the throne itself, they found the means of withdrawing him from it; and being about to depart for England, Hume transported Jean Jacques, as in his arms, to this island, whose liberty is so great, though it be not that of the *social contract*, and where so many landscapes resemble those of the Heloise, though without the sun of Vevay.

'It was related with delight at Paris, that the English, more disposed to lavish services than caresses, yet caressed Jean Jacques, much to his satisfaction:—that this savage, this republican had found a protector in a king, and a pension from a throne. People never thought of Hume and Rousseau, but as in each others arms, bathed in tears of joy and gratitude. Their happiness, the fruit of their virtues, gave courage to philosophy at Paris, always accused and always menaced. All at once, at a large supper at M. Neckar's, arrives a letter from Hume to the Baron Holbach, of which the first words were, "My dear Baron, Jean Jacques is a *wretch*," [scelerat.] At the same moment are read aloud the following words of a letter of Rousseau to Hume, "You are a *traitor*; your only object in bringing me here was first to disgrace and then ruin me." The words traitor and wretch, at a time when they were not so liberally bestowed as they have since been, echoed round the supper-table, and in the course of the night through a portion of the capital, like sounds of the tocsin.'

Both parties had discretion enough to abstain from any public attack, and the quarrel produced no open scandal. M. Suard published a little tract upon the subject, which met with some success, but which we have not had an opportunity of seeing.

We hardly know what to say of the musical parties that

divided the capital of France at the middle of the last century, and waged their wars with as much fury, as if they really intended to beat each other with their fiddle-sticks. It was upon this occasion, as we have hinted before, that M. Suard made his greatest original effort, in the production of half a dozen anonymous letters, printed in a newspaper. We should be glad not to pass the matter over in complete silence, and yet, uninitiated as we are in the science of music, and without the slightest pretensions to voice, or ear, we are almost afraid to mention it, for fear of committing some enormous offence against the gamut. The dispute, however, as far as we understand it, was between the partisans of the Italian and the German schools of music, which were then contending for the mastery at Paris, the French having properly none of their own. The parties were sometimes called Piccinists and Gluckists, from the names of the principal composers on each side, and sometimes the King's and Queen's Corner, from the places they respectively occupied at the opposite sides of the parterre, under the two Royal boxes. The abstract point at issue we take to have been the preference of melody or harmony, as the leading characteristic of musical compositions. Melody, or the agreeable succession of musical sounds, is the principal aim of the Italian school, as it was of the ancient Greek. The Germans, on the contrary, are all for harmony, by which they mean the greatest possible complication of sounds and the most artificial arrangement of them, that can be made to strike the ear in unison. For ourselves we are strongly inclined to the Italian doctrine. We take great delight in hearing a fine air 'married to immortal verse,' or in plain language, when the poetry is good; but the crash of a thousand instruments going off at once, though dignified with the name of an oratorio or an overture, to our ears, instead of producing the effect of harmony, resembles much more nearly an unmeaning discord, and when continued for a length of time, as such performances generally are, becomes excruciatingly tiresome. We readily admit that this is owing to our ignorance of musical science, and to our inability to judge of the difficulties that have been overcome, and the skill that has been displayed. But effect is after all the test of merit in works of art, and that not the effect upon scientific connoisseurs, but the effect upon common minds of cultivation and refinement; and music

which can only be appreciated and enjoyed by a few individuals, who have made it the study of their lives, has in our poor opinion small pretensions to the title.

However this may be, both the parties were espoused by men of great merit, and the learned, as is usual in all questions which they undertake to settle, were about equally divided. Marmontel and La Harpe, the conductors of the Mercury, adhered to Piccini; Suard and the Abbé Arnaud enlisted their journal in defence of Gluck. If Piccini had the better system, Gluck appears to have been the abler composer, so that the parties were pretty equally balanced, the right side and the best advocate being always a fair match. We find nothing in the present work which we can extract for the purpose of giving our readers an idea of this quarrel, but Geoffroy, whom we lately introduced to their notice, has a number of just and pointed observations upon it. He states amongst other things, that the Abbé Arnaud having boasted in one of his articles that Gluck had discovered the real *ancient pain*, the Neapolitan Ambassador, a decided Piccinist, remarked that he thought so before from the effect upon his ears, but that he did not regard the discovery as worth making, and that for his own part he preferred the *modern pleasure*. The war was carried on by bon mots, satires, epigrams and other weapons of this description. In the opinion of Geoffroy the German artillery, though it made a great noise and display, was ill-managed, and did but little execution; while the Italian on the contrary, with less bustle, was well aimed and effectual. But the opinion of Geoffroy must be received with caution, for under the mask of moderation, there is but too much reason to fear that he was a confirmed Piccinist. Suard, it would seem, worsted the Italian champions in his anonymous letters in the newspaper; Marmontel on the other hand made a large breach in the German phalanx by the following epigram on the Abbé Arnaud, a person of high literary reputation, founded principally on the works which he intended to publish, but which never made their appearance,—one of those who plan much, begin little, and finish nothing.

Je ferai; j'ai dessein de faire,
J'aurois fait, si j'avois voulu,
Je ne sais pourquoi je diffère,
Mais enfin je l'ai resolu.

Fais donc ; et voyons cette affaire ;
Courage ! allons, griffonne, écris,
Eh quoi ! déja la peur te gagne,
Accouche, et qu'enfin la montagne,
Enfante au moins un Souris.

The allusion to the mountain in labour derives its point from the Abbé's great personal bulk. We may observe that in this, as in other party disputes, the zealots argued the case, not upon the merits of the question, but of the respective partisans. These disputes never came to any regular decision. After the war had been waged with various success for several years, a new composer, Sacchini, arose, who adopted a manner uniting to a certain degree the peculiar merits of the rival schools. A third party grew up in consequence ; and the violence of all gradually abated ; until, after awhile, the Revolution came on and left no room for minor interests. These parties, while they continued, had the same unpleasant effects on the state of society as the political disputes that followed, and the theological ones that preceded them. Friendships were broken off, and families were divided by a controversy about the merit of crochets and quavers. We extract a few pertinent remarks from Geoffroy upon the absurdity of such contentions. In some countries and at some other periods in the history of our own, they might have been applied with advantage to other controversies generally considered of more importance ; but to caution our readers against the evils of party spirit at the present day would be quite impertinent.

'I revert occasionally to this inflammatory disposition, this turn for fanaticism so natural to the French. I would inculcate and stamp upon their minds that a blind enthusiasm is the result of ignorance and not of sentiment. Nothing is better adapted to destroy the arts, to corrupt talents, to perplex the judgment and the reason, than this prejudice, and infatuation which turn a vain amusement into a violent passion, and to objects essentially frivolous attach a ridiculous value. What more extravagant and unjust than that ferocity, that fury of party, which makes us hate a man, desire his ruin, and seek the means of injuring him, because he does not share our admiration for a singer, for a dancer, for an actor, for an author! How many persons, whom I have never seen, to whom I have never done any injury, and who do not know me, yet detest me, abhor me, load me with abuse, and would do me much harm if they could, because I have not so high an opinion

as they, of their favourite actor, musician, or poet; because I do not put Voltaire on the same line with Corneille and Racine; because I do not hold him to be a sage, and do not like his philosophy; because I think Le Kain and Clairon played tragedy better than it is now played; because I am persuaded there is no genius without reason; and that the school of Boileau is the best, the only one capable of forming a writer:—for this is a recapitulation nearly complete of my crimes.'

But we find that this article is insensibly growing to an immoderate length. We intended to have touched on the subject of the German philosophy, upon which MM. Garat and Suard pass a summary sentence of condemnation, avowing at the same time, that they had not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with it. But we must reserve this for another opportunity; and can only find room for a short conversation upon the merits of the historian Tacitus that passed at a public audience between the Emperor Napoleon and M. Suard, then perpetual Secretary of the academy.

'There have been twenty different versions of the conversation about Tacitus, and no two the same. M. Suard himself did not feel wholly confident with respect to any. There is accordingly no dependence to be placed but on that, which is common to all. It was not so much a conversation, as a smart interrupted dialogue. This was Bonaparte's manner of conversing, and a good deal that of M. Suard also; they were neither of them *disert*. These rapid hits were rather below the dignity of the emperor; but when he did not perceive this, he seemed to take a pleasure in thus measuring his strength, on equal terms.—His opening showed that he had just been speaking of Tacitus.

'Is it not true, Mr. Secretary, that Tacitus, though a great man, is neither the model of history or historians? Because he is profound himself, he ascribes profound designs to every thing, which is said or done. But there is nothing so rare as designs.

'Every where else, sire, but nothing so common at Rome. During the six first centuries of the republic, all was plan and execution. And beneath the empire, the masters of the world abandoned themselves to their passions, it is true, but not to chance. Nothing so strange as Tiberius, but nothing so full of reflection.—

'Tacitus ought to have caught the spirit of the empire, of which he was the historian, and instead of that he carries into it the spirit of the republic. I too wished the republic, but it is impossible, and—

'Tacitus, sire, is of all the writers of antiquity the one, who

has the best comprehended the union of the greatest power of the prince and the greatest liberty of the people, and he calls that a rare felicity*—

'No matter, he is the historian of a party, and the Roman people was not of the same party as Tacitus. They loved those emperors whom Tacitus makes so fearful. Men do not love monsters. The monstrosities of the empire proceeded from factions.—

'There was no longer a Roman people in Rome, sire; it was a populace from all the parts of the universe, which applauded, with all its might, the most detestable emperor turned into a bad actor, provided they were paid for their shouts, with bread and the games.—

'And his style do, you think it without fault? After having read it, you are obliged to seek out the meaning. For myself, I like a clear writer. I think you and I should agree, M. Suard'—

In this conversation, Bonaparte betrays an evident consciousness that his own moral character stood upon a level with that of Tiberius and the other profligate Roman emperors,—a severer satire perhaps than any that has been directed against him by his enemies.

ART. XIV.—1. *Taschenbuch für Reisende in den Harz.—Pocket-book for Travellers to the Harz. By Frederic Gottschalk.* Magdeburg, 1806, 12mo, pp. 486.

2. *An Excursion to the Harz Mountains.* 1818, 8vo, pp. 75.

THE part of Germany, which forms the subject of these two works, is in many respects highly worthy of attention. The Harz mountains, or the Harz wood, is considered as the remains of the great Hercynian forest, which in the time of Cæsar, and according to his computation, was sixty days' journey long and nine wide; dimensions, which would make it almost co-extensive with Germany. The name *Hercynian* has commonly been supposed to have been formed from that of *Harz*, which is still retained by the forest and the mountains which it covers, and which signifies literally *pitch*. Some of the German antiquaries, however, give another ground for the denomination of *Harz*, as applied to this forest.

The Harz mountains are particularly interesting to the geologist and the mineralogist, and have been called by

* Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quid velis et quid sentias dicere liceat.

Hausmann 'a compendium of the Alps.' The following passage, from the introduction of the work of Mr. Gottschalk, will sufficiently indicate to our scientific readers the importance of this tract of country, in reference to their peculiar studies.

'The entire Harz is, as it were, a single mountain, rising almost without exception suddenly from the surrounding plain, and when seen at a distance appearing as one mass. On its ridge, which rises to a great height from the plain, and is in some places precipitous, are to be observed, for the most part, only small elevations and depressions, and the deep beds of torrents. Upon the north, however, a second higher and abrupt elevation ascends, full of rocks and their fragments. This second elevation consists wholly of granite, and terminates in a summit called the Brocken. It forms the nucleus, on which the other portions of the Harz were successively deposited. The *second* mass, surrounding the granite, is of far more recent origin, and consists of various materials, which, diverse as they are, may be reduced to one formation, of which grau wacke is the characteristic; and it is here that the mineral veins begin and principally exist. At the foot of the grau wacke formation are found, around the Harz, various strata, for the most part in horizontal direction and determinate succession, lying upon each other in a wave-like manner, and constituting a very extensive *flöz* formation of comparatively recent date. This formation extends itself in moderate elevations through Thuringia, a part of Hessia, Lower Saxony, and Westphalia.'

The general course of the Harz mountains is from east to west: from 27° 50′ east longitude from the Ferro isles, to 29° 10′; and from 51° 35′ north latitude to 51° 57′. They are principally in the kingdom of Hanover, and a source of considerable revenue to the state, if revenue it can be called, which is wholly expended in supporting those, who are employed in the mines. As these, however, are estimated with their families at near 100,000 souls, the proceeds of the mines, which support such a population, (the eleventh part of that of the whole kingdom of Hanover,) must be allowed to form no inconsiderable portion of the revenues of the state. We believe that the mines at Freyburg in Saxony do nothing more than support the population of the cities and villages in the mining districts, nor would they have continued to do that, but for the great economy in quicksilver, resulting from the application of the amalgamation process, which was introduced by Werner.

The lower Harz exceeds the upper by far in point of natural beauty and historical recollections. It contains prospects, landscapes, and natural curiosities of a highly interesting character. No part of northern Germany is so important in the history of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, as the lower Harz; and it is covered throughout with ruins from those periods. It was the residence of the German emperors from Henry I. to Henry IV. and their richest priories and bishoprics were founded, and their favourite castles erected here; and here to this day are preserved their monuments. No traveller through North Germany willingly omits an excursion to this district; and accounts of it are found in many of the books of travels. The very entertaining collection of letters of de la Luc, addressed to the late Queen of England, contains several on the subject of the Harz, written on occasion of two visits in that quarter. Nor is it only the travellers, the topographers, or men of science, who have described it, for we have seen a poem in seven cantos, written in hexameter verses, under the title of 'the Harz,' and devoted to the praises of this region.*

The second work at the head of the article contains an account of a rapid pedestrian excursion to the Harz, written in a hasty manner, apparently with no other object than the gratification of the friends of the travellers. As it has never been published, we shall devote the rest of this article to some copious extracts from it.

'June 28, 1817, Saturday morning at 4 o'clock, we set out upon our expedition to the Harz. Though our first stage was posting, we were equipped as pedestrian travellers with thick shoes, old clothes and a scanty change of raiment in our knapsacks. We arrived at Nordheim, the first stage, at seven. Here we would fain have taken new horses to Herzberg, but the postmaster resolutely refused to give them to us, alleging that Herzberg was not a post station. Just as we were about to take up the march thither, we succeeded in bribing our Göttingen postboy to proceed with us, which he accordingly did, by the way of Catlenberg, where we crossed the little river Muhme to Herzberg. Just before entering this city the dusky woods, on the tops of the first circle of hills, seemed to announce the scenery, which was

* Der Harz, ein Gedicht in sieben Gesängen von E. C. H. Danneberg, 1781.

to attend us on our journey, while a commencing rain served as a token of the weather, which is apt to be the lot of the Harz traveller. We entered Herzberg at one. There is a castle here, at present the residence of the upper-bailiff of this district, of which the original foundation was laid in 1029, by a Count Werner of Lutterberg, who was devoted to the chace, and who called a hunting-house, which he built on the scite of the present castle, Hirschberg or hart's berg. After various vicissitudes it came into the possession of Hanover in 1636. The Flötz mountains begin here and stretch upward to the Harz.

* * * * * *

'Here was to begin our pedestrian tour, though we were too degenerate to accomplish it in real style with our knapsacks on our backs. As we must have a guide to show us the way, we desired that he might be a stout one, who could carry our packs; and it was with no small dismay that I saw an elderly female brought forward by the landlord, for this purpose. She seemed, however, herself rejoiced at the opportunity of earning a little money, and our two knapsacks together were not near so heavy, as the burdens which the female peasantry in this part of the world are accustomed to carry on their backs in baskets. We acordingly set out and soon reached the Sieber vale, a most lovely spot, but with it began a drenching rain, which as we had neither umbrellas nor coats, soon penetrated what clothes we had on. We regretted extremely the loss of the beautiful scenery of this valley, which is the subject of many engravings. Ten miles was the extent of our walk, through this heavy and drenching rain, and so miserable and abject was the appearance of every thing in the taverns, at the two villages Sieber and Königshof where we stopped, that I was glad to quit them for the road again. Königshof is King's court; why a name like this should be given to so poor a spot cannot probably be resolved, without going back to the history of the times when the Harz was the favourite resort of emperors and princes. I proposed to our poor drenched guide to stop at one of these villages, that we might take another to Andreasberg, better able to support the fatigues of the way. But she rejected the offer, said that it was hard to earn money for the barest necessaries of life, and that she was glad of this chance. Sad as the weather was, it afforded at short intervals a beautiful appearance, that of broken masses of vapour, not sufficiently condensed to drop in rain, travelling along the sides of the mountains and casting a cloudy mantle around their breasts. Just before crossing the valley, beyond which Andreasberg rises, we were on a high mountain, from which we could command a view of seven or eight neighbouring hills, each clothed

in a different way with this misty robe. From one it shot up from the peak like smoke from a volcano about to burst; from another it rolled darkly down the side like a stream of lava. Here it was carried by the winds and dashed upon the mountain side, like foaming waves upon a shore. The view was both beautiful and sublime. I would have given any thing to have heard thunder and seen flashing lightning from beneath the thick clouds, which rested on the summits, for nothing but this was wanting to fill up the image of the mountains of old, whose tops were covered with clouds, and which were the abode of the gods. As the rain grew more and more severe, we instructed our guide to what tavern she must follow us, and determined to make what speed we could ourselves. We accordingly doubled our pace in what remained of the way. We entered Andreasberg with the drove of cattle returning to the city, whose bells were all in accord. There appeared to be three distinct notes. Every thing now bore the appearance of neighbouring mines. Furnaces were to be seen on the way. Dross was piled up on the sides of the streets, and every thing looked black and metallick. We reached at last the Rath's house, the council house, and were glad enough of shelter, though shelter and a fire were at first all we could get. A chamber to ourselves we could not have, and as our guide did not arrive till an hour afterwards, we had to set for that time in clothes in which there was not a dry thread. Our first care was to engage a guide for the Brocken the next day. He is so notorious for this expedition, that Brocken serves him as a Christian name, and we inquired for Brocken Meyer. It was another ill omen that this man, who has carried every traveller from Andreasberg the last fifteen years up the mountain, should be taken sick two days before we came, and be unable to go with us. But instead of the fathers rise up every where the sons, and having engaged young Brocken to carry us round the mines in the morning, and up the mountains in the afternoon, we retired. I cannot help mentioning that our poor guide for carrying ten miles on her back all our baggage through this heavy rain demanded half a thaler, about 37½ cents.'

The following is an account of Andreasberg and the mines which it contains.

'Andreasberg is one of the seven free mining or mountain cities, Bergstädte, as they are called, and enjoys as such exemption from the payment of all taxes. The first mine here discovered was in 1520, and as it was found to consist of two veins crossing each other, it was called by the miners, as is usual in that

case, St. Andrew's Cross, Andreas Creuz. As these veins were found productive, miners were attracted from various places to assist in working them; privileges were granted to such as thus came, by the proprietor of the territory, Count of Hohenstein, and the foundation of a city was soon laid, which, from the name of the principal mine, was called St. Andreasberg. There are at present at Andreasberg in operation thirteen mines. They are sunk into eight veins, which are found in two rows as follows:

Internal row, northwest from the city.

The Newfound vein -	Catharine Newfound	mine.
The Samson vein - -	Catharine Newfound	—
	Grace of God	—
	Samson	—
	Evening Twilight	—
The Grace of God's vein	Grace of God	—
The Miner's Comfort vein	Miner's Comfort	—

External row, east from the city.

St. Andrew's cross vein	Andrews Cross	—
If-it-Prosper vein - - -	If-it-Prosper	—
Rich Comfort vein - -	King's Welfare	—
James' Luck vein - -	James' Luck	—
	Nicholas Frederick	—
	God's Blessing	—

The principal product of these mines is silver and lead. Of silver, is produced annually 4000lb. 1400 cwt. of lead weekly, and 80 cwt. annually of copper. We found the younger miners in great distress, as tomorrow a reduction of 68 was to take place, being the Andreasberg quota of a reduction of a thousand in the several mountain cities. This is stated in the newspapers to be the first step toward a gradual and total reduction and desertion of the mines, which have never been extremely profitable, and now do not pay the expenses of working them. The comparative poverty of the silver ore, the depth to which the mines are driven, the quantity of machinery necessary to pump the water up to the first drains, and the immense amount of wood which is requisite to build up the sides of the passages, unite in producing this state of things. Moreover, at the present moment the influx of English lead has sunk the price of the Harz lead from eight thalers to three and a half, and in fact destroyed the demand for it, as the English lead is better. We found a great depression and anxiety at Andreasberg in consequence of the reduction. The mines are the only subsistence of the people, as this climate does not admit agriculture, and they have no facilities for any manufactures, except those connected with mining. At present all the

male population from the age of ten years up, is employed in the various parts of the establishment. Boys at ten years of age go into the poch-works where the ore is pounded up, the stony parts washed off, and the rest prepared for the furnace. They earn here, the youngest 11 marien-groats, or about 25 cents a week; and their wages increase about two cents or a groat a year, till they are able to work, at the age of 18 or 19 in the mines, or at the furnaces. They work twelve hours a day and begin at four o'clock in the morning all the year round. Before going to work they sing a psalm and pray. This is also done by the miners. The wages of the miners are from one to two rix dollars, or from 75 cents to 1,50 a week. And they are furnished with a bushel of rye monthly if unmarried, and two bushels monthly if married, from the magazines at two thirds of a thaler, or 50 cents, let the market price be what it will. At present the market price is three times this amount.

'There are three considerable parts of the operation of mining and working the ores, viz: procuring the ore from the mines: reducing it to a state, in which the furnaces can melt it: melting and purifying it into metal. Each of these three processes varies with the nature of the ore, and the mine from which it is taken. What may be observed, however, in general is the following.

'A mine commonly consists of the shaft and the veins. The shaft is naturally made perpendicular, as far as the course of the veins will admit: the veins must be followed whithersoever they run. But the miners have principles of piercing them to advantage, which cannot here be explained. The shaft is intended for the entrance and return of the labourers, and for receiving up the ore and sending down the wood, &c. used in the internal works. There are therefore two divisions of the descent separated from each other, by a partition of timber, both for the sake of strengthening the walls of the descent; and of preventing accidents to those ascending or descending by the breaking of the chains, to which the buckets containing the ore are attached. The ladders are from fifteen to twenty feet long; at the end of each is a platform, where one may rest, or stop for those going in the opposite direction to pass, and from this platform descends a second ladder, and thus down to the veins. The passages below in the mines are either cut out in solid rock, so firm as to require no other support, or are arched up with stones, or finally built up on the top and sides with wood. Many of the latter are narrow and low. I was surprised to find how little iron was used, especially as ribs of this metal would spare so great an expense of wood. The shaft is also used to give passage to the long pistons of the pumps, by which the mines are drained. The other part of the

shaft by which the ore is received up is of course larger, and a large water-wheel with two buckets, one ascending while the other descends, is the apparatus for raising the ore. The water of the mines occasions little trouble, so long as the depth dug down is not greater than the valley at the foot of the mountain in which the mine is, as in that case it can be taken off by drains. Below this, it must be pumped up. So important a thing is one of these drains or *stollens*, that any mine which has the privilege of turning its water into the stollen of another, must pay a ninth part of its proceeds for the privilege. The ore is for the most part loosened by drilling and blowing with gunpowder.

'The ore when brought up must be pounded small. The larger pieces are first put under larger hammers, and thence it is successively transported to hammers, that pound it more finely, all moved by water, till it is reduced to a fine even dust of a dark metallic appearance. This is a complicated process; and as a quantity of powder sufficiently fine is delivered at each successive set of hammers, while the rest passes on to be pounded again, each of these kinds being of different richness is kept separate, and has a separate name: while the mass exposed to the fire in the furnace is composed of given proportions of each. These poch-works are attended by boys.

'The ore, being reduced in this way to a fusible state, is carried to the furnaces. There large beds are formed on the floor, of alternate layers of this pounded ore, of former dross to assist the fusion, of the broken up hearths of former furnaces, into which some metal has sunk, which must not be wasted, and of granulated iron in case the ore contains arsenick. The first fusion separates the lead and silver from the copper. A second furnace separates the lead and silver from each other, and farther processes are employed to divide the copper.'

The following is an account of the path from Andreasberg to the Brocken, or summit of the Harz mountains.

'In the P. M. we departed for the Brocken with the son of Meyer to show us the way, and his sister, a girl of seventeen, to carry our baggage in a basket, on her back! The road the first half of the way is beautiful, and passes by the Rehberger Graben, a small canal of water, formed to supply the St. Andreasberg mines. It is five English miles long, and about a foot deep and three or four wide. It takes its waters from the Oder Pond. It was begun to be built in 1692 and finished in 1703, at an expense of about 16,000 dollars. The road, a foot and horse path, passes by its side, and is in its whole extent the most beautiful passage

on the Harz. On the one hand is the Rehberg, swelling often into bare and precipitous granite cliffs, and on the other the deep valley of the Oder, covered on both sides with an impenetrable forest of pines; through which one catches now and then a glimpse of the shining waters, and hears constantly their dashing from rock to rock. We had a fine fair day, and were protected from the sun by the pines that overhang the path. It seemed, compared with yesterday, another season and another climate, and we could not but exclaim upon the wonderful effect produced upon the earth and its inhabitants, by a few heavy vapours flying around it. How they change summer into winter, light into darkness, and gayety into gloom. But it is the earth, not the sun, which is surrounded with clouds, and could one have a point from which to survey the earth just without the atmosphere, and behold the never failing eternal blaze pouring upon the chaos of clouds, and storms, and vapours around the earth, lighting up a thousand rainbows, painting the dark clouds with bright colours, glancing and beaming on the waves of that stormy sea of mist, which spreads above us, and sometimes pouring through its openings, down upon the earth, methinks it would be a most glorious spectacle. This acquaduct leads to the Oder Pond, a reservoir of water, the largest on the Harz, which was formed by building across a valley a wall of granite rocks, filled up with moss and sand, and secured by iron bolts. It is of various depth, but sufficient to secure a supply of water for Andreasberg in the driest times. It was built in three years, from 1719 to 1722, and cost 8000 dollars. The area of the pond thus formed is seventy-five acres, Brunswick measure.'

The following is a description of the Brocken, to which Mr. Dusterswivel in the Antiquary bears respectful testimony, and where a most remarkable scene in Göthe's Faust is laid.

'The Brocken, the highest point of the Harz mountains and of North Germany, of which there are as many etymologies as writers, is of itself no very lofty mountain. The elevation above the sea is 3480 Paris feet, so that it is but a mole hill compared with the Andes. It is of primitive granite, has no trees, is surrounded by morasses which are formed by the want of passage into the earth of the rain, and produces one or two alpine plants, not found on the other German mountains, particularly Anemone Alpina. The name of Brocken is supposed to come from Bructeri, the name of an ancient German people, who however are placed by Tacitus nearer the Rhine. According to the universal tradition in Germany, the witches assemble, Walpurgis Night or the first of May,

to pay their compliments to his infernal majesty, and dance off the snow. There is accordingly a large flat granite rock, which is called the Witches' Altar, and a sort of pile of rocks, which passes for the devil's pulpit, it being supposed in most modern superstitions somewhat perversely that this personage has a great taste for preaching. In fact it must be owned that the ancients had a more cheerful mythology than we. Wherever we meet some bold natural bridge, some deep cavern, a line of abrupt lofty rocks, a deep silent spring, we think of nothing but the devil, give it his name, and are sure he either made it or abides in it. While of old, some mischievous wood god or laughing satyr was the farthest to which invention went, and it was most commonly nymphs and fauns, dryades and naiads, that dwelt in the groves, and at the springs of the fountains.

'The Brocken is in latter years much better adapted for the accommodation of travellers than formerly, inasmuch as the Count of Wernigerode caused to be built in 1800 the Brocken house, a large stone building 130 feet long and thirty wide, with walls five feet thick of stone. It is but one story high, though it has a tower of considerable elevation. The landlord here is placed in the house by the count, and receives a salary from him. The entertainment is commonly good and the price high. We were of course obliged to have fire in our rooms. In fact, the inhabitants of the Harz have a fire in their stoves all the year round, and consider it as the great boast of their climate, that it is uniform. Their wet clothes must be dried in coming from the mines, and if it is too warm they open the window. The great object upon this mountain is to see the sun rise and set. It will easily be thought that the imagination does the most for the wonders of this spectacle. To persons used to living in cities and rising two hours after sunrise in winter, and six in summer, it is no doubt striking enough to see the transition of night into day. And even to those who are used to seeing it rise over the roofs of houses, or its rays breaking through the trees of a neighbouring garden, it is worth while to see it come up above a freer horizon. But to one who has seen it arise and set at sea, there is little glory on the Brocken. We had a thick misty evening, and the sun went down like a round mass of dull red iron, much as one may see it any thick sultry summer's eve.

'*June* 30. We were obliged to yield to the importunities of our servant and jump up, sore and fatigued with yesterday's travels, at 3 o'clock this morning to see the sun behind a cloud. The top of the mountain was covered with the various parties that had passed the night there, and who were so much mortified at the want of a fair sun rising, that I think a little eloquence would

have persuaded them their senses deceived them, that the sun was really fair and bright, and the clouds nothing but the dimness occasioned in their eyes by gazing at it. After we had gotten our coffee, and our bouquet of flowers which is given to every traveller as the *quid* to which he must furnish a trifling *pro quo*, and which ought to consist of anemone alpina or witches' flowers, we took up the march for the day.'

It would appear from the beginning of the following extract, that the variety of tongues spoken on the Harz mountains is as great as that of the productions of the mineral kingdom.

'Our route ought to have led us over the villages of Schirke and Elend to the Schnarcher Fels, which consists of two rocks, like the opposite sides of a broken arch, of polarick granite. But our guide, who confessed himself a poacher, first made a bargain for the price, and then taking advantage of his dialect, a brogue of the Wendish, extracted from us an unintentional consent to go the shortest way, by which we arrived at Elbingerode without having seen the Schnarcher. This Wendish or rather Frankish, is one of the three dialects which are spoken on the Harz, viz: the Low German of Lower Saxony, the corrupt High German of Upper Saxony and the Frankish or reliques of the pure old German, brought from the Fichtelberg by the miners, who were called thence to work the Harz mines in the earlier periods of their history. Our guide spoke a mixture of all three, and no one who had not made a study of the tower of Babel could think of comprehending him. Thus we were brought to Elbingerode, which is remarkable for some iron mines in its vicinity, but we did not visit them. After dinner we pursued our journey to Blankenburg by the way of Rübeland, a small village on the Bode. Rübeland is supposed to be the low pronunciation of Räuberland, and to descend from the times when this was the habitation of robbers; nay, in some small caverns in the Calc, as we passed along we were told that a generation of dwarfs formerly dwelt. One of the most learned writers on the Harz informs us that the inhabitants of Elbingerode, by occasion of a wedding or other festivity, used to make application to these dwarfs, who loaned them dishes, plates, and spoons, and whatever was necessary for the merrymaking, without any reward but a few of the fragments of the feast, which were brought back in the vessels. We regretted not being able to stay long enough in the neighbourhood to verify the fact. Rübeland, since the glories of its dwarfs and robbers is gone, is principally famous for the Baumann's and Biel's cave, two caverns found in the two mountains on the res-

pective sides of the Bude. Baumann's cavern was discovered in 1670, and is pretty famous in works upon the subject of caves, &c. But the discovery of this cave must probably be placed higher for the good reason, that it is mentioned in the Transactions of the Royal Society in 1668, p. 647. It consists of six sub-caverns that altogether extend to a length of 758 Brunswick feet. Biel's Cavern was first discovered in 1787, upon occasion of a fire in the forest upon Biel's Mount, on which it stands. This Biel was a god of the ancient Saxons, and his image was here destroyed by St. Boniface in the 8th century. The hole consists of twelve apartments, and descends to a great depth. The entrance is narrow, and to one who for the first time thus goes into the earth, terrific; and one cannot but feel a little fear lest the great walls of marble beneath should fall together and crush him. The stalactites assume in some places appearances fantastic enough, but the impertinent loquacity of the guide in expounding them had nearly ruined the pleasure I had in the expedition.'

The little artifice alluded to, at the close of the following passage, is applied also with very pleasing effect, in the windows of a summer house on the banks of Winandermere lake in Cumberland.

'The city of Blankenberg belongs to Brunswick, and it is here that Louis XVIII. passed a year or two in the earlier period of his emigration. The principal object of curiosity is the castle. The present edifice, which is beautifully situated on the hill that commands the city, stands on the spot where a castle was erected in the earliest ages. The original castle was after a time removed and another built, of which a part is yet standing, pretending to be of the tenth century. Frederick Barbarossa destroyed it as siding with Henry the Lion, Duke of Brunswick, and this fortune was repeated in 1386. Ulrich V. repaired however, in the sixteenth century, the new castle, which was destroyed by a fire in 1546, in which the princess perished. It was restored in 1590, and has been a residence till later times. Much fine furniture was taken away by the French; but the pictures, among which are one or two small ones of Lucas Cranach, remain. There are pictures of two of the emperors in the principal hall, who married in this castle princesses of Blankenberg. We had a lovely view from the castle windows of the surrounding country, and particularly a curious effect was produced by two panes of bright yellow glass, which were placed in one of the windows, and gave the broad and beautiful landscape a fiery, terrific air.'

We quote the following passage, as a specimen of the popular superstitions, which prevail in these mountains.

'*July* 1. We proposed to day a visit to the Rostrappe, one of the wildest scenes of the Harz. Leaving our packs at Blankenberg, and taking nothing but our great coats, we started at six in the morning. There is a remarkable phenomenon of nature in the neighbourhood of the city, called the Devil's Wall: and resembling the ruins of an ancient lofty wall of stone. It is properly a small chain of hills, breaking at the summit into precipitous rocks, piled abruptly upon each other, and continuing, with occasional greater or less interruptions, its course into Bohemia. If one were to attempt a conjecture at its formation, it might be supposed to have had its origin in the meeting of two tides of seas, flowing in from opposite quarters, which, resisted by each other, had heaped up the sand, gravel, and rocks, which they had washed along with them. It is a hard, firm sandstone. The common people consider it the work of the devil, built either as a boundary between his own dominions and those of heaven, or else set up as a barrier against the progress of christianity. Passing by this wall, we proceeded on our way to the Rostrappe, the latter part of which carried us up a steep hill and through a thick wood, till we finally reached this wild and grand spot. It is a deep headlong valley, formed in the course of ages by the river Bode, which winds along at its bottom. But as the mountain, through which it has worn its way, was of hard granite, the sides of the valley, which is steep and narrow, instead of being even, are broken with numberless bare ragged cliffs, which rise up in a conical form upon it. The depth of this chasm is from five to eight hundred feet, and the Bode at the bottom, as it breaks over the rocks, looks like a winding silver thread. One can conceive nothing wilder and more terrific, than the aspect of these sharp and ragged cliffs on a nearer approach. In one part you pass from the mainside, upon a bridge or wall of rock, about six feet thick, out upon one of these precipitous summits, from whence you have a view of the yawning chasm in all its terrors. Just before you, as you stand on this spot, is a little cross of white wood, with a piece of linen waving on it, set up on the point of a rock ten feet in advance of that on which you stand, from which a young nobleman seven years ago, who ventured too far, fell and was dashed in pieces. The name, Rostrappe, or *Horse's Spring*, has its origin from an indenture a foot wide and some inches deep, upon the wall I mentioned, in the shape of the horse's hoof. Traditions differ a little as to the circumstance of its origin. A princess, some say a Bohemian, others an Hercynian, being pursued to the

brink of the opposite precipice, and having no other way of escape, spurred her gallant steed from side to side, and happily crossing, with one leap, the deep and dangerous valley rested on the cliff, where the print of the horse's foot is to be seen. Others say she was escaping from the cruelty of her father, who opposed her love. She fled from his house, and took the liberty of taking his crown, thick set with precious jewels, with her. She attempted to conceal herself in the solitude of these rocks, and on the solid granite of the opposite cliff may be seen to this day the print of the nails from her chariot wheels. But she was discovered and pursued hither, nor was there any means to escape her foes, but to leap the terrible abyss. To disguise her intention, she danced upon the rock before making the essay, which is called even now the dancing plat. Having sufficiently deceived her pursuers by this show of cheerfulness, and thrown herself on her steed, as if to accompany them, she made the gallant leap and escaped. Her father's crown unhappily fell from her hand and dropped in the river below. Other traditions will have it, that a daughter of a king of the Huns made a wager that she would spring thrice on her horse across this abyss. She did it successfully twice, δὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἴων, but the third time fell back with her steed into the river below, where she is living to this day. A diver once for a rich reward pulled her so nearly out that her crown could be seen He was persuaded to repeat this, and attempted it upon promise of a large reward a third time. He warned his employers before hand, that if they saw blood spout from the water, they might conclude he was dead, and killed by the princess. With this comfortable proviso he descended, the blood spouted up, and never again has attempt been made to pull out the daughter of the king of the Huns.'

The following is a description of Quedlinberg, one of the most famous of the Hercynian cities, and during the French Revolution one of the places of refuge of Louis XVIII.

'The noon was past as we arrived, tired and dusty, at Quedlinburg. This city was said in 1806 to contain 11,000 inhabitants. It was for nearly a thousand years a free abbey, but was secularized by the French, and kept secular by their patriotic followers, the Prussians, who are as fond of good cities as the monkey was of roasted chestnuts, and make the same use of French usurpation to get at them, as he did of the cat's paw. This city was once of importance, and the Emperors Henry I. Otto I. and III. and Henry V. lived here a great part of their reigns. In the times of the contests with Frederick I. and Henry the Lion, it suffered

very much as an imperial city. The Emperors above named never failed of celebrating Easter here, and when Otto I. returned from Italy, he received in this city the ambassadors of the Hungarians, Poles, Wends, Danes, Bohemians, Greeks, and others, on the day of the Easter festival. There were several ecclesiastical and imperial conventions here, and in 1583 a great synod was held at Quedlinberg, de formula concordiæ atque ubiquitate Christi. Henry I. surnamed the Fowler, was fond of Quedlinburg, on account of the excellent opportunities it afforded for this noble sport, and not only is a place in the neighborhood called to this day Finken heerd, [finches' hearth,] but in all the cities I ever visited, no where have I seen such an abundance of bird cages, as were hung out of the Quedlinburg windows. Henry lies buried in the castle. A few years ago a Prussian Princess was permitted by the abbess to open his grave, and nothing, but a joint of the little finger, was found remaining of this finch-destroyer.

'The rich furniture of the castle was sold at auction by the French, and altogether brought but 4000 rix-dollars. The abbess, the sister of Gustavus III. of Sweden, is now living at Stockholm, and receives annually from the Prussian government 27,000 thalers. The former revenues which she enjoyed were estimated at 50,000, and the 23,000 thus abated her are supposed to be a fair allowance for what her court must have cost her, and which she has now no occasion to support. Since the foundation of the abbey there have been forty one abbesses, all with the rank of princesses of the empire. Among them was Maria Aurora, Countess of Königsmark, and mistress of Augustus I. king of Poland and elector of Saxony. This lady was of a noble Swedish family, and came with her two married sisters, the countesses of Löwenhaupt and Steinbock, to Germany, to recover from some merchants in Hamburg the property of their brother, who had disappeared at Hanover, and was supposed to have been assassinated by order of the Elector, afterwards George I. of England. The merchants at Hamburg, finding the sisters without sufficient formal credentials, attempted to defraud them out of their brother's estate. In this embarrassment they applied to Frederick Augustus, whom Count Königsmark had accompanied on part of his travels. He espoused the cause, for which they had come to Germany, and Aurora became his mistress. After the birth of their son, Marshal Saxe, her health was never re-established, and she was made Abbess at Quedlinburg, at the Elector's instance. Here she reposed undisturbed, till Gustavus III. the brother of the present Abbess, on his tour in Germany, being at Quedlinburg, had the curiosity to examine the coffin of his celebrated country-woman.

She lies buried in the vault of the church, with several other abbesses. Her body is shown to strangers, and is in perfect preservation. All the muscular parts appear to have been exsiccated, and nothing but the change of colour of the skin betrays the hand of death. The colour is now a dull olive, and as she was the fairest woman of her time while living, so, though near a hundred years dead, there is nothing of the ghastliness of death in her countenance. I tried hard to persuade the attendants to open some of the other coffins, but they said it was not allowed. It is probable, that, as in the so named lead cellar at Bremen, all the bodies are by the operation of some unknown quality in the spot preserved in this way. In the adjoining vault we saw two bodies, which had been deposited fifty eight years; the one of a child which had died of a very active disease, the natural small-pox, and it was entirely preserved.'

However difficult it may be to give an account of the facts mentioned at the close of this extract, they are not without parallel. Besides the case of the cellar at Bremen, there are other spots, possessed of the same property of preserving dead bodies. Wheler, in his Grecian voyage, mentions having found four or five hundred bodies so preserved at Toulouse in France, and single instances at Bologna in Italy, and at Zara in Dalmatia.

The following extract contains another specimen of the popular superstitions prevalent at the Harz.

'After dinner we continued our walk to Ilsenberg, the end of this day's march. Ilsenberg has a castle which was occupied by a branch of the family of this name, till the beginning of the last century. There is a good tavern here, "the Red Trout," which, like that on the Brocken, is administered in the name of the count of Wernigerode. Having engaged our lodgings here, and notwithstanding we had walked 20 miles, and explored two castles this day, we set out to visit the Ilsenstein. This is a granite rock, which rises perpendicularly from the valley of the Ilse 230 feet. Opposite to it, on the other side of the Ilse, is another, less precipitous cliff, and in fact they both seem to owe their present disrupted form to the bursting of the Ilse through the mountain, of which they were a part, and its having gradually worn its way down to its present depth. The ascent of the Ilsenstein is long and weary; but the beautiful prospect from it repays the trouble. On the very summit is a large iron cross, erected by the Count of Wernigerode to the memory of the Prince of Hesse Homburg and others, who fell in the campaign of 1813. The rock is polaric

granite, and in many places reversed the poles of the magnet we had with us. It is related that this valley, city, and rock derive the name of Ilse from a fair princess of this name, who once abode in the vale. Her enchanted castle stood upon the Ilsenstein; yea, though it has vanished to vulgar eyes, it stands there still. Every morning, before the sun is up, this rich fair princess bathes herself in the stream, that comes down through the vale from the mountains; and he, who is so fortunate as to meet her there, is carried to her enchanted castle on the Ilse rock, and presented with all costly things. The vale is so beautiful, I could easily believe this tradition, which has the conspiring authority of centuries to support it.'

Under the head of the village of Oker, is contained an account of the copper-works there established, from which we extract the following passage:

'Our next stage was the Oker, a small village, or rather series of manufactories and forges, on the Oker. It is hither that the Rammelsberg ores are brought to be smelted, and here is a brass factory and a vitriol distillery. The ores are sulphuric, and require a process different from that described above. It consists in roasting them, which is thus effected:—a large layer or platform of pine wood, about nine feet square, is spread on the ground; upon this, the larger pieces of ore are laid, on these smaller, and the finest at the top, the whole making a pyramidal heap, about six feet high. In the hole on the top, fire is dropped, and the wood at the bottom kindles and consumes. After this the sulphur of the ore ignites, evaporates, and condenses in a liquid form on the top of the heap in small cavities, made to receive it. In this way 20 cwt. of brimstone are collected from one heap, while roasting, which lasts six months. When this period has expired, it is shovelled down, exposed to the air, and another roasting, precisely similar to the first, except that it lasts but nine weeks, ensues; and after this a third of six or seven. These three roastings are solely to expel the sulphur, and they reduce the ore more or less to powder; and in this state it goes to the furnace. They happened to be in blast while we were there, and the broad sheet of bright green fire, which raged round the melting copper, was fine and terrible. The gold is also separated here, but its amount is very trifling, not being more than three grains in a hundred weight of ore.'

The description of Goslar contains some curious details. We make the following long extract:

'Pursuing our way to Goslar, we arrived there at 1 o'clock. After dinner, we addressed ourselves to view the wonders of this

ancient city. It was founded in the eleventh century, is one of the oldest free imperial cities, and a favourite residence of the German emperors. The discovery of the Rammelsberg mines was the immediate source of its growth. From the time of Henry III. the German emperors were much at Goslar, and endowed it with many privileges. It remained independent till the sixteenth century, and at liberty to choose its own protector. At this period, however, it was compelled to accept the protection of Brunswick, and to pay 500 thalers a year for it. In 1578 a plague raged in the city, in 1597 still more violently, as also in 1625. In the thirty years' war it was besieged and plundered, and at subsequent periods has been wasted by fires, till the glory is nearly departed from Goslar. It has still however no bad appearance at a distance, and as the roofs are covered with slate, it looks neater by far than most of the German cities, which are roofed with light red tiles. Many of its wonders and antiquities have disappeared in the last years, which have been a terrible time for castellans, guides, door-keepers, and antiquity-mongers; and to every third question one puts in Holland or Germany, the answer is "the French took it." We first went to the Cathedral church, in the hope of finding many wonders, described in our Vade Mecum, but it was in ruins; little but the walls and roof were left. The French took away the altar of Crodo, so called; and the directors of the St. Stephen's church, who appear to have envied the superior wonder-assortment of their brethren, and who, having represented to the French that the cathedral was so ruinous, as that one could not set foot in it with safety, procured an order to sell off its mirabilia. There remain, however, the tomb and monument of the fair Matilda, daughter of Henry III, and foundress of the abbey Quedlinburg. Her dog Quedl is represented couchant at her feet, and it is in honour of him that the abbey is named. We saw a psalter of Schœffer's printing; and one or two diplomas of privileges granted to the cathedral by the emperors. Their title occupied two large written pages; one, alas, is "enlarger at all times of the empire," of which, every day since the reformation they have lost something. In the centre of the church is a round stone, whereon the Bishop of Hildesheim stood in the eleventh century, and encouraged his armed guards, in a conflict before the very altar, and in presence of the Emperor, with the attendants of the Abbot of Fulda, for the precedence, till the pavement of the cathedral ran free with blood. From the cathedral we went to St. Stephen's church, built about a hundred years ago, and containing nothing of interest, but the pillaged glories of the cathedral. The most considerable curiosity is the altar of Crodo, so called, though it unluckily appears that this

same Crodo is a very apocryphal character, unable to produce any better credentials in his favour, than a chronicle of the fifteenth century. From this it may be allowed to follow that this is no altar of Crodo; but it seems to be a *non sequitur*, to infer, as the gentlemen antiquaries do, that it is no altar at all. The tradition of its having been brought from Harzburg is allowed to be unanimous, and it is equally admitted that this was a seat of Saxon idolatry. Now, why may not this have been an altar there of the god Biel or the goddess Ostera, or any other divinity in the Pantheon of our Saxon ancestors? It is said it is rather an imperial piece of furniture from the Harzburg castle. But why furniture? It looks like nothing that ever went under the name before. It is a square brass case, 3 feet long, as many high, and 2½ thick, and rests upon four figures kneeling with one foot, in strange attire, and long beards. Now it is plain that such thing could neither be a bed by night, nor a chest of drawers by day, and why it must be a piece of furniture, and why not an altar, no reason is offered but the doubtful character of Crodo,—which would be like arguing that the ruins of the temple of Minerva at Athens were not ruins of a temple, but of a private house, because the modern Greeks ascribed it to "the unknown God."—Be this as it will, it is granted by all to be a fragment of venerable antiquity, and they are willing to allow that it has descended from the times of St. Baward, the first famous German founder in brass. Some travellers and antiquaries are inclined to consider it as a work of Grecian art; in which case it must be at least 5000 years old, for no Greek artist, I am sure, since the days of Theodore of Samus, who first taught founding in brass, could have made so rude a thing. It was thought worthy of being carried to Paris to swell the catalogue of stolen wonders there, and was brought back by the Prussians, who, with a noble regard to justice, refused it to the cathedral, where it had stood for centuries, and bestowed it on the St. Stephen's church, which had as little claim to it, as the Louvre, from which it was just brought back. Over the chapel in which it stands is shed a red and yellow light, through a noble painted glass window—also taken out of the poor cathedral—representing the emperors Konrad I. Henry III. and Frederick II. the reputed founders and benefactors of the church. As the latter falls in the fourteenth century, the clerk of the church, by a pretty remarkable figure in logic, argued that the window must be at least as old as that period; and when I, pursuing his argument, rejoined *aye*, perhaps 300 years older, for that is the period of Konrad I. "quite right," rejoined he, pleased with the suggestion, which he will doubtless henceforth treasure up for the future traveller.

'From this church we went to the Zwinger, a tower without

the wall. The walls are 22 feet thick, and, as it is now turned into a house of entertainment, several apartments are hewn out of the solid wall. From the top is a beautiful prospect; nothing but an intervening forest prevents you from seeing Wolfenbüttel.

'In the market is a fountain, whose waters are caught in an immense brazen basin, at least 16 feet in diameter. It is said that it used to be struck with hammers in case of fire, that the miners under ground in the Rammelsberg might hear it and come. It is reported to have been brought by the Devil, in one night, from Nordhausen, a distance of about 30 English miles. My guide was very firm in the faith, but was able to adduce no better argument, than that it was so related in a written writing.

'It is often, I do not know but commonly, said that it was at Goslar, that gunpowder was invented by Schwarz, the monk; and that its first application was in the Rammelsberg mine. This, however, is entirely groundless. Gunpowder was not applied to the uses of the Harz mines, till in the fifteenth century, two hundred years after the battle of Cressy.'

To this succeeds a description of the descent into the copper mines at Goslar, of which we extract a portion.

'*July* 4. We celebrated the independence of our native land by descending the mines at Rammelsberg. It was remarkable enough, that we found on a pane of glass in one of the windows of our room written, "Vivat Washington, bread and liberty," such a one from "Baltimore, 1791." It was a German name and a German thought: an American does not think of boasting of bread and liberty, and never knows, till he goes abroad, what a blessing he possesses in them; as no one knows how fresh water tastes, who has not had a fever six months, and drank every thing out of phials. We reached the Rammelsberg, which lies near two miles from the city at seven o'clock, and found no preparation made for our descent, and this cost us some delay. But one had as good complain of going fast before a gale at sea, as of delay in Germany. I heard a very intelligent and amiable man thank God, that the driving times of the French, when every thing moved as on wheels and wings, were past.

'The mine at Rammelsberg is said in the popular tradition to have been discovered A. D. 968; but to the details of this tradition little credit is now given. It sets forth, that Ramm was a groom of the Emperor Otto I. and that having tied his horse on the side of a mountain, the horse with his hoof opened a nobler fountain, than that of Hippocrene of old, viz. a bed of silver and lead, of gold and copper. Now, as the mine was named for Ramm, so the city is said to have been named for his wife Gosa; and an old

stone, pretending to be a monument erected to them by Otto, was for some time exhibited. The ores now procured from this mine are sulphuric, as was mentioned under the head of the Oker. I think the descent of a mine must form "an era in any man's feelings," as Mr. Ogilvie says his oration did in Charles Brown's. I regretted that some accidental circumstances prevented our descent into the Rammelsberg from having its full effect on my imagination. The descent into the Biel's hole, a dark, gloomy, horrible cavern, made a sort of preparation, and took off the wire edge of the feelings, which would have been excited by the first entrance into a mine. Then, as we were to make a considerable journey on foot, we did not think it prudent to fatigue ourselves by descending too far. The entrance into this mine, being on the side of a mountain, you march upright into a long, dark, dreary passage, partly cut through rock, firm enough to sustain the superincumbent weight, partly supported by timbers at the sides and across the tops, and partly well arched round with the fragments of stone, broken out in digging it. This passage is just high enough to walk without stooping, and four feet wide. It is floored in the middle with plank, and the sound of the little cars or wheels by which the ore is drawn out, rolling and echoing at a distance like an earthquake in the mountains, was grand and solemn. As the car approached, the lamp of the miners twinkled more and more brightly, and I felt a shudder at their salutation in passing, "Glück auf," well up. This was repeated to us by every miner we passed, and often on passing unobserved the mouth of some cross passage, a hollow voice would issue from it with his ominous salutation, and make a man tremble. After proceeding about twenty five fathoms in this direction, we reached a perpendicular descent with a windlass working, by which ore was brought up, and men like demons gathered round to receive it and carry it off. The Egyptian darkness of the hole, into which the tubs of the windlass descended, the feeble light of the spot where we stood, the struggle and tension of the chords by which the loaded buckets come up, the solitude and remoteness of the scene in the bowels of the earth, where, if the mass above us fell, no human eye would rest again on our remains, united to produce impressions sublime and powerful. We waited a moment, and descended five ladders deep, and followed the passages through New Vein. Above us and around us were long green icicles of the sulphate of copper, and the air was filled with mineral vapours. These are said not to be unhealthy, existing probably in a state of great solution. The grandest sight in the mines to me was the water-wheels turned by the water of the mines, and applied to drawing up the ore, and pumping the lower

part of the works. Nothing is finer than the approach to such a great subterraneous wheel. It is first heard. The water, vexed and dashed upon it, roars down into its inferior channel, wearied, as it were, with being broken on this monstrous wheel; and this noise is heard and echoed all along the passages to such a degree, that one thinks, as he comes nearer, that he is approaching a great cataract, into which another step will plunge him. But one not only hears the wheel, one feels it; a strong chilly undulation is communicated to the air of these subterraneous caverns by the revolution of its broad and heavy wings. And when one approaches near enough to see it by the dim light of the lamp, the heavy sway of this great machine, the power with which it moves, and which it propagates, the gloom in which it is wrapt, which prevents one from seeing distinctly how it is hung, so that it seems rather some magical structure, which one dreads approaching; all this works powerfully on the imagination. There is one other spectacle, particularly in these mines, which we were not fortunate enough to see. As the ore is very compact and hard, it is impossible to break it off without some mechanical means of great efficacy. The ordinary process of drilling and blowing is too tedious and expensive for the worth of the ore. They accordingly apply fire. A large heap of pine wood is piled up under the roof of the excavation, which they wish farther to loosen, and this is set on fire. One can imagine the terror and grandeur which must exist in the aspect of a raging fire, in one of these subterraneous caves, filled with sulphuric and pitchy vapours, and producing an intolerable suffocating heat. We got the miners, who are here obliged to work stark naked, to kindle a torch or two and wave about in the darkness; this, however, afforded but a faint image of the real fire setting, as it is called.

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'At about 12 we arrived at Clausthal, and after dinner descended one hundred fathoms into the Carolina mine; it is 288 deep, but there were repairs below, which prevented our descending; thus fate seemed to oppose our fulfilling the wish of going to the bottom of the thing. Our guides, who were not regularly posted in that part of the mine, lost their way once, a very comfortable circumstance, a quarter of a mile under ground. We came up another mine, and made our egress into the open air, a quarter of a mile nearly, from the place where we entered. It was the Dorothea we came up, the deepest and richest of the Harz mines. After coming up from the mines we visited the mint, a small establishment of old date. About $11,000, mostly in silver pieces of about half a Spanish dollar in value, are coined weekly, and paid out in wages to the labourers; two hundred of the latter were dismissed the day we were there.'

ART. XV.—1. *Construction construed, and Constitutions vindicated. By John Taylor, author of the Enquiry and Arator.* Richmond, 1820, 8vo, pp. 344.

2. *Observations on Public Principles and Characters, with reference to recent events.* November, 1820, pp. 62.

EACH period of history has some topic of predominant interest, which indicates the prevailing spirit of the age. Certain words at different epochs are so frequently repeated that they become quite familiar, and appear in every page of contemporary annals, and then go out of use altogether except in history. Others rise up and mark the precedence of new ideas which are universally entertained in their turn, and give an impulse to all the movements of society. Carrying the banner of the cross against infidels, discovering new continents, and a new rout to India, papal bulls and excommunications had each their period of preeminence. Few in these days think much about excommunications, but when this term carried terror to the boldest minds, no use was made of another word, that is now of constant occurrence, and which is likely to go further and last longer, than any that has hitherto occupied the thoughts of mankind. Constitution is the watchword of the day; this began to come into use pretty freely about sixty years ago, and has ever since been repeated in various quarters, till it is at length in the mouths of every people, is uttered in all dialects from the harsher ones of the Teutonic nations, to the more flowing tongues of Spain and Italy, and is reechoed from every hill and valley in the civilized parts of the earth.

The present aspect of the world, we mean that part of it possessed by the European race, whether inhabiting the old continent or the new, is deeply interesting to the philosophic observer. Under considerable varieties of feature and complexion, it every where offers a sympathetic expression. If we elevate ourselves to take a bird's eye view of it, we shall discern on all sides the progress of amelioration or at least a struggle for it. We shall hear the same cry for a constitution, even by some who know not precisely what it means; we shall perceive a universal feeling for a representation, sometimes without the understanding how to originate or define it; we shall observe on all this vast theatre a practical demonstration, or a vague yet strong conviction, that men have certain rights, which they are nobler and happier for enjoying, and among

all these various nations and climes, an irksome consciousness of the impolicy, and a determined struggle against the spirit of monopoly, whether it exist in governments, religion, or commerce; the progress of this struggle commonly beginning against the first of these by those who are most enthralled, and terminating with the last, by those who are most enlightened, who of course have already emancipated themselves from tyranny under the two former.

At the same time we shall discover throughout this whole survey, the vain and pernicious efforts of all governments, except those in North America, to counteract the spirit of the age. This opposition of sovereigns exhibits various degrees of alertness and violence in resisting the progress of reform, but all of them resist it; all of them look at innovation on the part of their subjects with aversion, and suffer it with reluctance.* Some of these are influenced only by the love of quiet, others are goaded by the thirst of power, whilst others are infatuated with the belief, that they can return to those times, when their subjects, habituated to acquiescence, were satisfied or discontented, as affairs were prosperous or otherwise, but without thinking that they had any responsibility, or any right of interference in either case. As to quiet, it is not the characteristic of an age of improvement, but so long as governments attempt to resist the feelings of the period in which they live, they must govern not only in a state of perpetual irritation, but run the risk of the most dreadful calamities, and eventual destruction. The means of inquiry are too widely diffused, the spirit of improvement is too strong to be stifled. *Nulla vestigia retrorsum* is the present motto of mankind; their views have all taken one direction; the impulse is more or less strong according to their knowledge, and if those who are at the head attempt to check its onward course, they will be borne down and trampled under foot.

* The famous declaration of a very distinguished member of the Massachusetts Peace Society to the Spanish Cortez, which must have been dictated in a phrenzy of arrogance or of fear, and was afterwards retracted, is one striking instance. A still more remarkable, though more temperate and detailed exposition of the views of the courts of Europe, may be found in the confidential letter of the Austrian Minister, Prince Metternich, to the Minister of the Grand Duke of Baden, and which was probably a circular to the German powers. This document, inserted in some of our papers (among others the Boston Daily Advertiser of Oct. 25, 1820) from the English ones, bears all the marks of authenticity, and develops perfectly the actual views of the sovereigns of Europe.

To understand this disagreement between ancient institutions and modern opinions, let us catch a hasty glance at their origin. The reader must not be alarmed if we take him some way back in chronology; we shall soon get through, we shall make but one step from the Appenines to the Alps, and from thence to the Pyrenees; having neither time nor inclination to lead him up and down the intermediate hills and vallies.—After the Roman empire was finally subverted, and arts and letters were buried in the ruins of its military power, its vast provinces became independent and began to govern themselves, in the deep obscurity of what are emphatically called the dark ages. All of them were barbarous, though in a different degree; the barbarity of some was of the kind which precedes civilization, that of others, the kind which follows its extinction. Each had its appropriate vices of ferocity or corruption. The fragments near the centre were, as might be expected, the most populous and the least extensive; some of them comprising only a walled city and a few gardens. These small states obtained nominally a republican form of government, which, imperfect as it was, procured them some distinction; yet in reality they were only the strongholds of factions, which did little more than vary the materials, that composed the anarchy of Europe. Society had two modifications. In Gaul, Britain, Lusitania, and Germany, the people were in the shepherd, or the first stages of the agricultural state; on the regulations of which had been engrafted a few customs and laws of the mistress of the world, while those provinces were held by her legions. In Italy the ruins of Roman jurisprudence and military civilization governed a people, enervated by luxury, fallen into decay and overrun by rude invaders, who brought many of their own rudest customs to patch the tattered robes of the imperial jurisdiction. The condition of Europe was thus composed on one side of warlike, ferocious tribes, under numerous chieftains, who had received some maxims and laws from their conquerors; and on the other, of an enervated, ruined people, vanquished in their turn, and forced to admit, with their new masters, many new customs. The cause of liberty was every way a loser. The privileges of Roman citizens, greatly diminished during the decline of the empire, were finally destroyed under Gothic invasion: while the eager followers of the transalpine leaders were forced gradually to renounce the primitive equity and

rude equality they had enjoyed at home, to become subservient to unmitigated military usurpation.

While the course of events thus led to the extension of universal servitude, the christian faith was making its steady progress over the ruins of paganism, destined to become eventually the great instrument of human freedom. But the simplicity of the apostolic era was gradually corrupted, and in the unhappy ages that followed, the purest of all religions was more and more perverted to accomplish the designs of worldly ambition. The shades of ignorance continued to grow deeper, till at length the light of knowledge was almost wholly extinguished, and its feeble rays glimmered only within the pale of the church. Though there was no longer any instruction, there still remained a difference of intellect among men, and all those, in whom mind predominated over animal force, were led to devote themselves to the service of the church; which was daily increasing in strength, deriving exclusive advantage from the general ignorance, violence, and slavery that prevailed, and laying the foundations with only spiritual means of the most singular and formidable power, that ever oppressed mankind.

The church and the modern states of Europe began their existence together in these obscure and disgraceful ages. The former organized by degrees her vast and complicated hierarchy, continually extended her possessions, and at length obtained, directly or indirectly, a sovereign sway over all Europe. The latter were formed amid continual wars, the weaker chief subdued by their more powerful rivals, till at length their princes accumulated sufficient power to cotroul the barons into a conditional submission, and thus laid the basis of the feudal system. All power was divided between the baron and the priest, while the peasant was the slave of both. A prince defended his subjects, as his property, employed them with as little consultation as he would his cattle, and held them in much the same consideration. Their minds were kept in absolute subjection, and their persons, property, and opinions, were all under the control of the clergy and nobility.

Trusting that the brevity of this sketch may be some offset for its triteness, we come to the inferences for which it was traced; that the present governments of Europe were founded in ages of ignorance and turbulence, without any participation

of the people; a class of mankind which, though rather numerous, became obsolete soon after the fall of the Roman republic, and did not again come into fashion, for some sixteen or seventeen centuries. The circumstances of society, the deplorable ruin and degradation into which it had fallen, did not perhaps admit of any better system, than the feudal and ecclesiastical dominion, which assumed the command. The leading principle of both was entire submission on the part of the 'rascal many' to their lay or clerical lords; who in return for this obedience did their utmost to guard them against the violence and injustice of all but themselves. As the feudal princes became confirmed in their power, they perfected its organization with a view to promote their own interest. What was usage, grew into regulation, and experience slowly accumulated a code of laws, and a system of administration. The object of both was exclusively to establish the authority and enlarge the power of the sovereign.* To extend these, the subjects were sometimes treated with indulgence and humanity, but even in more recent and comparatively enlightened periods, their prosperity was regarded with jealousy and apprehension; and at this day many governments are only reconciled to the acquisition of wealth by their subjects, through the ingenuity of their financiers, who cautiously avert the danger of its too rapid accumulation.

As instruction was increased in the slow advances towards greater tranquillity and civilization, its efforts were directed to surround every thing relating to government with mystery, and to exclude more effectually all, save the privileged classes, from any participation in it. Kings ruled by divine right. Birth decided station, without reference to talents or qualities. The laws were gradually more deeply hid under idle forms and endless tautology, and even their prayers were obliged to be said in a language the people did not understand. The whole science of government was directed to keeping the subject in a state of perpetual pupilage. They could neither sow nor reap, except what was permitted, and could not displace themselves from the spot where chance had

* A memorable example of the enduring influence of first causes may be seen in the history of the French and English parliaments; the former were called to extend the power of the sovereign, the latter for its restriction; the first lessened the political weight of the barons, the latter increased it.

doomed them to vegetate. The governments that boasted of being the most enlightened, gave as proofs of their skill and perfect administration, that they controlled even the minutest operations in their empires, the people were entirely passive instruments under their direction; and whether it was to make war and peace, or to settle a village broil; whether it was to raise an army, or repair a milestone; every thing emanated from their sole and immediate authority, and left their subjects only slaves or children, according as the sovereign might shew himself humane or cruel, a father or a tyrant.

We have pushed aside many intruding thoughts and details, that we might sooner reach the level of our own times. The reformation and the abolition of the feudal system, neither of which are yet complete, did much for the rights and improvement of mankind. The abuses in the name of religion being the most intolerable, and the remedy the most obvious, were first corrected; and though only a lesser portion of Europe was enfranchised from the papal dominion, its pressure on those who remained was diminished, and its infallible paramount pretensions forever ruined. Protestantism and personal freedom were early established in England, whose insular position from the time of the armada to the gunboats of Napoleon had protected her against all serious attack from abroad, and by securing her inhabitants against the various attempts of the catholic sovereigns of Europe, to restore the ancient supremacy of the Pope, enabled her illustrious men to mature and apply those principles of liberty, that have advanced her so high in prosperity and fame. Nor were the advantages wholly confined to her own subjects; the example was before the world, to shame despotism in less fortunate nations, and gradually increase among them the desire of imitation. Holland, that 'alluvion of the Rhine,' was protestant and free; and by indefatigable industry, courage and constancy, defended her territory against the sea, and her civil and religious freedom against Spain and the Inquisition. But the territory was too small, the people too exclusively commercial, to have a stable, leading influence in the affairs of the world.

The example of England was to be improved in a distant land, where the principles of her institutions could be carried without the incumbrances that impeded their action at home. The remnants of the feudal and ecclesiastical polity chequer-

ed the whole fabric of the English government, and though the edifice was ample and convenient, the rights and comforts of a large portion of the inhabitants were sacrificed to preserve a part of the ancient materials, which the reformation and the revolution had spared, and which were far more picturesque than useful. This discordance in her institutions produced frequent troubles, and in some of those periods, when a collision with the encroachments of arbitrary power became most violent, several of her purest and most unyielding spirits expatriated themselves, to enjoy their principles in a wilderness. Many things which were only theory at home, they here put in practice; and the soundest and loftiest ideas of liberty that could be found in the works of statesmen and philosophers, which the writers themselves perhaps considered almost visionary and hopeless, were developed and realized.

When in process of time the hankering after arbitrary power led to the attempts to disfranchise full grown colonies, the design terminated in their complete severance. This event gave them an opportunity, by which they profited, of carrying into the fullest effect a perfect republican system, where the principle was for the first time plainly laid down and thoroughly enforced, that government was the property of the people, and not the people the property of government; that their privileges were a matter of right, not of favour; that there could be no exclusive ones; and that the government being for the good of the nation and not the pleasure of the sovereign, was subject to alterations which they might deem necessary, was administered by their agents, who might do wrong and were amenable for it, and that all power and honour emanated from them and returned to them.

The interest of this struggle was felt by every nation in proportion to its intelligence, and involved many of them in its progress. Those, who had assisted in producing the result, began before the first days of triumph were passed, to deprecate its consequences, which, they soon perceived with uneasy feelings, would have a wider bearing than they had contemplated. A body of very distinguished witnesses, fascinated with what they saw of a state of society, so different from any they had known, returned to Europe, eager to introduce the novelties they admired. The situation of that region was daily exhibiting in stronger contrast the existence

of decrepit institutions, and the rapid progress of liberal principles. The forms of ancient abuses all remained, yet were half concealed by the benevolent spirit of amelioration. The fetters were not removed, but they were loosened and covered to prevent their chafing. Privilege was so accompanied with courtesy, that it seemed on the same level with those who were under it. The wildest opinions were promulgated, and the wit with which they were seasoned, while it increased their dangerous currency, only made them laughed at. Every body was speculating about improvements, even those who were to lose by it. Commerce had so increased the intercourse between nations, that all were accessible to the same ideas, and tinged with similar opinions. Greater mildness of administration served to excite the desire of substantial changes. Those who held the helm saw the tempest approaching, but only decked the ship with colours, without lightening it of its overload. The position of France, where the storm was first to burst and produce such inconceivable misery and devastation, was the most striking. The prosperity of that nation had never gone higher; the riches she drew from a single island exceeded the produce of all the rest of the Antilles; her king was virtuous and beneficent; her noblesse accomplished and humane; the hierarchy indulgent and careless; philosophy and the arts in the highest estimation and success; but the barbarous organization of earlier centuries obtruded its odious and absurd injustice in the midst of every part of this smiling scene. By a fatuity, or a fatality about those who governed, incredible, if it were not now to be traced in almost every government, not a form was altered, not a burden removed, though an evasion of either was smiled at, or disregarded. France might be compared to a city on the banks of a majestic river; pleasure and wealth were within the walls, mirth and luxury around. The current was placid, and reflected from its smooth surface every image to the heedless, sportive multitude, but the rains had fallen on the distant mountains, the rivulets were flowing in torrents to the swelling stream, whose silent, rapid rising excited no alarm, till in one dreadful moment its fury burst impetuously through every barrier, overwhelmed the whole in one wide destruction.

After five and twenty years of various fortune, but ultimate success in a contest with France, the sovereigns of Europe

shudder at revolution and try to avoid it, not only by refusing any change, but by seeking to retrieve some things they have lost. They wish to restore what has escaped from their power, carry back their people to habits of earlier times, and stifle the progress of modern inquiry. As well might they attempt to gather up the light with their hands, which has burst through the crevices of a ruined edifice, and throw it without the walls.* Their subjects aided them against foreign conquest and oppression, but with an expectation of receiving increased privileges, as a reward. The extraordinary events of the late war in Europe, which transposed the people of every nation, and moved the most energetic portion of the population over every part of the continent, gave an opportunity for comparison, and a freedom of judging between different nations. A feeling of rivalship was excited that extended beyond the mere desire of gaining a battle. The privileges of those who enjoyed the greatest liberty and prosperity, became a source of envy, and they who were subjected to arbitrary rule began to perceive their degradation.

This desire of political freedom is not met with wise preparations for yielding to it with safety, and endeavours to conciliate the subject by a progressive gratification of his wishes,

* There are few sovereigns and courtiers who are not behind the spirit of their times. In questions of reform they hesitate at trifling sacrifices, though it may endanger their whole power; in these cases they adopt the sportive maxims of the celebrated minister of Maria Teresa, Count Kaunitz, 'never to do any thing themselves that they can make any body else do, and never to do any thing to day that they can possibly put off till tomorrow.' Joseph II. of Austria formed an exception; he was a patriot prince, whose mind was contemporary with the age in which he lived, and greatly in advance of that of his own country. Perhaps all his measures were not wise, and as they went to reforms in administration, they were of course blamed by his courtiers, but his views were enlightened and beneficent. We may cite two or three examples in trifling matters, where princes have recently shewn themselves behind the present state of intelligence. The Dutchess of Angouleme, anxious to have an heir, who would have inherited the throne of France, made a vow of a silver statue to the Virgin at Nismes, if her wishes could be accomplished. After the assassination of the Duke de Berri, his heart was preserved in a vase at Notre Dame, and *his bowels sent as a present to the city of Lisle* to be preserved there! Both these things might have seemed natural in the twelfth century, but in France at the present day they could only provoke bitter ridicule. The present King of England in multiplying Knights of the Bath, in imitation of the continental courts, gave these 'blushing ribbons,' very little more value than they had in the haberdasher's shop, and introduced a foppery repugnant to the habits of his country.

but by jealous precautions to counteract them. The most slavish maxims of government are revived and enforced to oppose the free spirit of the age, and a standing army is the main reliance of sovereigns. But though this might have been the means of originally obtaining their power, when the people were either passive, or perhaps glad to assist a monarch against his nobles, still how vain must it be eventually, in opposition to the general feeling of the times, when knowledge and commerce are so widely diffused, and a love of free inquiry is the characteristic of the day. It is a melancholy, though we fear an indisputable fact, that there is not at this period a government in Europe, that would stand six months without the support of a military force. Their views then must be erroneous, or their abuses enormous. In the actual state of the world even military power is not secure, if public opinion be decidedly against it. The army itself is not wholly mercenary, but may be infected with sympathy for the citizens. Nay in desperate cases it may become reformer itself. We have lately seen the flame of liberty, where it was thought to be quite extinct, suddenly gleam from the bayonets of Spain, Naples, and Portugal. Military despots may well be alarmed, when they thus see the instruments of oppression become the means of resistance.

There is too much knowledge spread throughout Europe, to allow any hope of its being extinguished. The people in different ranks (in some countries the higher rather than the lower) are wishing for reform. Freedom of commerce, right of expatriation, abolition of degrading privileges, a system of representation or a constitution, exemption from excessive taxation are wants more or less strongly and distinctly felt, according to circumstances. All of these principles are opposed to the devouring abuse of great standing armies, which have been carried to their maximum of late years, and exhaust the resources of the state. To achieve these great points, they have a long effort to maintain, but they must finally succeed; they have to combat against greedy monopoly, against arrogant privileges, odious sinecures, heartless courtiers, and against large armies supported from the sweat of their brow, and the blood of their veins; they 'wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places;' but it is the cause of God, and he will give them the victory.

The force of circumstances is so strong, and often so salutary, that it acts as a corrective, in spite of the narrow bigotry which refuses to abolish what is obsolete, and it prevents the evils of downright resistance, by producing the licensed evasion of injurious laws. The sanguinary enactments of the old penal codes, the usury laws, and many others are examples of this kind Justice could not be administered if the judges themselves did not assist in these evasions. In more cases, than in the famous one in England, under the Orders in Council, the daily transactions in various departments, are 'a system of simulation and dissimulation,' owing to the obstinacy of retaining statutes superseded by the progress of society. Yet such practices must introduce the most dangerous confusion. Even in the most enlightened country in Europe, this pertinacious protection of black-letter progeny is often exhibited, sometimes odiously, sometimes ludicrously. There are many profoundly learned persons in that country, who believe that justice could not be administered, except in a preposterous wig. But there is a striking instance that may be cited. When bills are sent from the Commons to the Lords, it is supposed, that the whole house comes in a body; a dozen or fifteen members usually compose this deputation. When in the vestibule, the door-keeper announces them, the Lord Chancellor repeats it, and then taking in his hand a rusty, tarnished cushion about a foot square with the royal arms embroidered on it, makes his way to the bar, impeded by his cumbrous robes, and agitating the vast wig which covers his head and shoulders. and holds up this emblem of the throne, towards which the deputation advance, bowing three times. the chancellor returning each bow. The chairman, after reading the title of the bill, hands it to the chancellor, and retreats backwards, bowing three times again to the sacred emblem, the chancellor also again bowing each time in return. They are shut out in the vestibule; the chancellor then regains his place on the woolsack, (to which uncomfortable seat he is eternally condemned, because the woollen manufacture was *formerly* the staple of England,) and reads the title of the bill brought up from the lower house. The door-keeper next announces another message from the Commons; the same grotesque mummery is repeated by the same persons, and often for a dozen times in succession, for many bills are occasionally sent up at once. Now with such

a plain, direct, business-like manner, as the English generally have adopted, it is laughable to see them carrying on, for half an hour together, this solemn baby-play. An Englishman will talk very scornfully of the pious frolic of Ferdinand, in embroidering a petticoat for the Virgin; but he is not struck at seeing the two houses of the great parliament of the empire daily acting this awkward, tedious farce. There are, no doubt, some who would contend, that it could not be done away without subverting the monarchy; and perhaps they may be right. When some of the fundamental maxims of a government are avowed fictions, it is difficult to know what to touch; when a tower is partly sustained by the ivy that has grown out of its ruins, the removal of a weed may loosen a key-stone, and shatter the whole fabric.

But the most remarkable incongruity between ancient institutions and modern practices is to be found in the freedom of the press. The wide use of this irresistible instrument will finally unmask every unsound and superannuated principle, and these must either be renounced, or the former restrained in its career; and which is most likely to happen, we leave to the judgment of our readers. We hardly consider enough the prodigious and rapid strides which the press has made within the last half century. Before that period, even the debates in the British Parliament were only taken by stealth, and published in one or two journals of confined circulation. Now they are openly and minutely given, and their bold and sometimes factious language, under all the authority of distinguished names, is carried daily to every tavern and alehouse in the kingdom. When the actions of a sovereign were known only to his courtiers, when the monarch, like every thing unknown, was held to be magnificent; when royalty, concealed within the precincts of a court, was hid from vulgar gaze, and surrounded with as much mystery as a Hindoo idol, it might inspire awe and reverence. But now that all its actions are exposed, all its aspects portrayed, all its foibles exaggerated, all its vices proclaimed, and a broad publicity transmits all its concerns with the velocity of the wind, from the purlieus of the court, to the remotest dwelling in the empire, what is to be thought of some of its attributes? What becomes of the divine right of kings? Where is the maxim that the king can do no wrong? What befalls the fountain of honour, if it is asserted to be

only a mass of impurity? What more monstrous inconsistency can be conceived, than that of the deplorable investigation lately conducted in the British Parliament with the original principles of monarchy?* The governments of Europe must either turn back, or assume new modifications; they must either arrest the progress of inquiry and publicity, or be able to bear its investigations. The maxims of the fourteenth, and the opinions of the nineteenth centuries will not harmonise together; one of them must be discarded.

To reform is the most delicate, the most difficult of all tasks, and requires the highest energy, purity of character, and sagacity in those, who undertake it. The misfortune is, that though the people are discontented and disdainful at the actual state of things, they have neither the habits nor the intelligence requisite for a higher condition. Look at France, with more intelligence than many other nations; see how imperfectly, after all their sufferings, they understand the rights of person, how destitute they are of the materials to form juries, one of the simplest elements of a free government. Some of their orators in opposition are mere epauletted dragoons and grenadiers, without any elevation of principle or view, above those of a daring, enterprising, intelligent soldier. With feelings exactly suited to the narrow mechanism of military discipline, and actually vain of being under such a despot as Napoleon!† The process of preparing a nation, that has been long degraded, for even a partial degree of freedom, must be slow and cautious. It can never be safe or effectual to raise them above the position of serfs or soldiers, unless they have the rudiments of instruction; this alone can fit them to discharge their duty, as men and citizens.

We may turn from the difficulties in which Europe is involved, with sentiments of gratitude, that we are exempted,

* Far be it from us to throw out any taunt against the English nation, in the deep humiliation these events have caused it, in the eyes of the world. We would rather draw a veil over the transient shame of the land of our ancestors, and sympathize with the proud and virtuous minds, who are now stung with mortification at the aspect their government exhibits. We may hope, however, that we shall hear no more for some time of our 'want of the Corinthian capital;' and when the most facetious of her statesmen resumes his seat in Parliament, he will not perhaps again go out of his way to utter his wonted gibes on 'the simplicity of an American President.'

† An instance of this kind may be found on the 29th page of the 67th number of the Edinburgh Review.

and sincere wishes that she may be relieved from them. We are carrying on an experiment, successfully, that has been often denounced as rash and visionary. Yet it has out-lived many of those who predicted its early destruction. Our government has moved on, acquiring ease from habit, confidence from practice, and estimation from experience. It has been developed under very trying circumstances, has lived down two powerful, embittered parties, and continued unchanged, while the proudest monarchies of the old continent have been riven to their foundations, and are now perplexed with the fear of change, and all its unknown consequences. Our parties are at last united in their interpretation of all the principles of the federal government; and in despite of so many assertions, that our interests were irreconcileable, after so many prophecies of disunion and civil war, we have just chosen a President, in all the states of this vast confederation, unanimously. Our system daily obtains greater confidence and attachment in the minds of the citizens, who feel its benefits, and perceive more and more its natural strength; a strength, which it owes to being exonerated from those artificial appendages, whether they come under the head of ecclesiastical, military, and feudal entailments, or exclusive hereditary prerogatives; devices, which seem to constitute the force of Europe, but are in reality the dangerous sources of her evils. Our government demonstrates, that where abuses are not to be defended, standing armies are useless; where favouritism, prodigality, and injustice are not practised at the expense of the people, all the acquisitions of industry, or the possessions of inheritance, however vast or however humble, and all the rights of person are entirely secure. Its action shews it to be the strongest government in the world. While we enjoy its direct advantages, other nations may look to it as a bright example of what is practicable, and a strong encouragement to proceed in the career of reformation.

We have been excited to make these remarks, rather by the turn which our own state politics have been taking, by the interest awakened by the revision of the constitution of Massachusetts, and by the proposal of a similar revision in some of the neighbouring states, than because they form a very apt preface to the short notice we proposed to ourselves of the works, of which we have placed the titles at the head of our article.

The first of them, entitled 'Construction Construed,' &c. is the production of a respectable planter in Virginia, who has published two other works, one political, and the other agricultural; the latter of which is advantageously known. The present book might perhaps have promised itself great currency, if it had been written more clearly. It exhibits deep thought, clothed in such a redundancy and incongruity of metaphor, and such an unfortunate obscurity of language, that it must be far too difficult for common readers. The author is evidently honest and independent in his principles, but narrow, bigoted, and impracticable in his views. Judging from this work, we should consider him of the straightest sect of the anti-federalists; a party, which, however formidable it may have once been, is, we presume, in profession at least, now quite extinct. He however seems to be a staunch believer in all its doctrines, and we infer generally from all his opinions on the topics here treated, that he would hold the union very cheap, if it was not subject to certain favourite conditions of his own; conditions which he rather broadly hints may be taken, as a *sine qua non* of its continuance.

One mode of giving an idea of a book is to repeat its table of contents; as this is not long, we shall resort to it in the present case. The work is divided into the following sections:

'1. The principles of our constitutions.
2. Construction.
3. Sovereignty.
4. The Union.
5. Division, and limitation of power.
6. Property
7. The bank decision.—Corporation.
8. The bank decision.—Sovereignty of spheres.
9. The bank decision —Supremacy.
10. The bank decision.—Common defence and general welfare. Necessary and proper. Convenient. National.
11. The bank decision.—Precedents.
12. Protecting duties and bounties.
13. Assumption of judicial powers, and patronage by legislatures.
14. The laws of nations.
15. The Missouri question.
16. The distresses of the United States.'

If our readers are a little in the dark, it is not our fault, and we can assure them, in point of obviousness, it is a fair sample of the chapters at large.

The main object of the author is to excite the public to a jealous watchfulness of the federal government, which, he contends, is making encroachments on the independence of the states, and verging towards consolidation. This, he argues, is principally shewn in the incorporation of the National bank, in protecting duties and bounties, in granting pensions, and in attempting to prevent the extension of slavery. The first of these points he labours most, but exaggerates them all, and carries a kind of steady, systematic extravagance to every topic he treats. He thinks that neither the federal nor the state governments have a right to grant any incorporation; that the public debt should be destroyed, because the funding system was founded in fraud; that the army and navy should be abolished; that pensions are a robbery, salaries an evil, public improvements a bauble, and manufactures a nuisance. In short, we think the kind of government he might like would be a curiosity. There is a lurking inclination towards the Chinese system, though not very explicitly shown. At page 340 he quotes Sir G. Staunton, to prove, that 'China maintained a standing army of one million of infantry, and eight hundred thousand cavalry;' that China had no pecuniary corporations; that the taxes in China, France, and England were as 5, 16, 34. From these facts he infers, that a Chinese empire, with its *eight hundred thousand cavalry*, is better than our system, under the control of the 'eleemosynarians.'

The author goes into a very elaborate course of reasoning to prove that the incorporation of the United States Bank is unconstitutional, and he examines minutely the decision of the judges in the case of the Maryland tax. We are inclined to believe the official opinion the true one, though it is a question that affords a fine field for nice distinctions, definition of terms, and presumptive meanings. Mr. Taylor would have done more service, had he confined himself to a comment on the enormous abuses which have taken place in the banking system in many of the states, as well as in the first management of the bank of the United States, on the mischief and injury which arises from establising banks without capital, and the consequent laws suspending the course of justice, which become almost inevitable, after an emission of spurious paper has involved all property in the uncertainty of shifting prices, and produced locally, an entire derange-

ment of relative value. In his anxiety to render the banking system odious, he has not been quite ingenuous in stating all the circumstances connected with the national bank. He asserts that the states must become the victims of monopoly and aristocracy, if the general government have a right to establish among them pecuniary corporations which they cannot tax; and no person, ignorant of the facts, would gather from any thing he has said, that the bank was already taxed for the benefit of the public, to the full amount which it could bear. The citizens of the United States, by their representatives in Congress, agree that it would promote the general good to have a national bank. In return for the privileges they confer on the stockholders, they impose conditions, which have made the charter considered by capitalists as a hard bargain. Yet for further precaution the charter is granted for a short period, at the end of which it can only be renewed by the consent of government, a consent which certainly will not be obtained without a full equivalent. Now after having decided, as a matter of expediency, that such a bank will be for the general good, and having thus taxed it in Congress to the extent it will bear, can the same citizens go into their state legislatures and tax the same institution over again without manifest absurdity?

Another portion of his work, which contains much sounder reasoning, is against a general tariff of protecting duties. Yet here also he runs into extremes. A manufacturing corporation is, in his opinion, another violation of the sovereignty of the people; existing at the expense of the rest of the community, and little better employed than in spinning and weaving burthens for the public. He considers a corporation a kind of Trojan horse, full of danger to the state. We should be very sorry if this were the case, for in Massachusetts we should be able to muster a body of this kind of cavalry, almost as numerous as his corps of Chinese horse. Mr. Taylor has elsewhere produced able documents on this topic, and between the representations of the opponents of the projected tariff on one side, and the statements of its patrons on the other, we presume that Congress will be able to fix, without much difficulty, the scale of duties, that will best promote the general welfare.

It may relieve the austerity of these topics, to give some specimens of the style of this work; which we should not do

if we did not fear that it might find imitators, of which we shall have presently to produce an instance. The first chapter of the work is entitled 'The principles of the revolution:' and the first sentence will shew the kind of style in which it is written. 'These are the keys of construction and the locks of liberty.' We subjoin two or three short passages, taken almost at hazard, to shew the manner in which this grave treatise on government is composed.

'But having, in these cases, rubbed off the rust, spread over the sovereignty of the people by ignorance and monopolies, it ought not to be lost under a new incrustation composed of phantoms, kneaded by selfishness, and spread by construction and inference. Let us recollect that this composition, if left undisturbed, indurates with wonderful celerity.' p. 35.

And again.

Human societies were originally constituted with a view to the interest of one or a few, and governments were consequently founded in the simple principle of subordination. They were splendid statues, the people were pedestals, and a succession of convulsions, occasioned by a gas too sublimated or too heavy, constantly overturned, only to set them up again.' p. 51.

We add only one more;

'On the contrary, they intend to erect a political fabrick, with separate compartments, each watered by distinct streams of power: and not, whilst apparently perfecting a work so glorious, to invent covertly a machine, then nameless, but now called the "supremacy of means," for diverting the streams assigned to some departments into others, so as to famish some occupiers and poison others by a plethora. Though the outside walls of the fabrick may still stand after the operations of this machine, like those of an old Gothic castle, and occasionally attract the admiration of future connoisseurs; yet they will no longer be capable of sheltering liberty against the blast of ambition or the reptiles of venality, after the apartments cease to be habitable.' p. 87.

But errors of style are not the only ones we discern in this volume; there are other obliquities of far different importance. The following passage will throw some light on the author's qualifications for expounding the constitution.

'The question, however, might be certainly decided by any one state, should the federal government adhere to its hypothecations of national capital to unproductive and eleemosynary uses. Suppose a single state should make a trial of the policy of relieving

its capital from such destinations as far as possible, by repealing banking laws; by prohibiting under sufficient penalties the circulation of every species of paper currency; by prohibiting with internal protecting duties, the introduction of all manufactures from other states, sent to collect eleemosynary taxes; by suppressing all gratuitous pensions; by reducing legislative wages; by a legislative forbearance to exercise judicial functions; by shortening legislative sessions; by suspending improvement and catch-penny projects, until it shall be ascertained how the suspension will work; by applying all its resources to the payment of its debts; and by reducing its taxes down to the rate, which such a policy would justify. It would then experimentally appear, whether the policy of condemning national capital to eleemosynary uses, or of leaving it to the use of its owners, was most favourable to national prosperity.' pp. 388, 389.

If this moderate scheme had originated in other quarters, and in other times, we think it would have been stigmatized as a proposal to dissolve the union; though it seems here to be only a pretty little experiment in the science of government.

We gave as an excuse for remarking on the style of this work, that we feared it might find imitators, as we had already picked up one, which, 'before the printer's shoes were old,' who impressed Mr. Taylor's work, made its appearance at its very heels. This is the pamphlet that forms the second item at the head of this article.

We are inclined to speak cautiously of what we do not understand; but this performance strikes us, as one of the most exquisite absurdities we have ever seen. We can recollect but one parallel to it, as regards obscurity, which we mention for this author's benefit. Some years since an English banker in Rotterdam published a work, which he called '*The Doctrine of Equivalents.*' It is probably scarce in this country, but may be procured in Holland, and if the author of the pamphlet before us will obtain and read it, he will be able to estimate the situation into which his own work has thrown us. It is without the name of author, printer, or place; but this excess of precaution is wholly superfluous, because, if it contains any thing illegal, we do not believe any jury could have been made to comprehend it. If in a total inability to comprehend it, we may venture an opinion, we should say, that the work bears marks of being written by

some catechumen of the Bentham platform. It is a sublimation of political metaphysics, the contents of which are contained in the following table:

'1. View of actual affairs.
2. Political problem.
3. Import of terms.
4. Universal principles.
5. Characteristic distinctions.
6. Organic outline.
7. Social body.
8. Sovereignty.
9. Constitutional life.'

This will afford but an imperfect idea of the work, from which we have found it very difficult to make any extracts; for, in attempting to draw a single thread, we found the whole mass coming with it. The following passage is tolerably entire in itself, and we have chosen it partly on that account, though chiefly because it is one of the most perspicuous, and will show the transparency of the author's manner.

'*How shall the* EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY *be organized so as to have this uniform efficiency?*

'Nothing less than the plenipotent strength of society can constitute the force which such efficiency implies. It is the association of the physical power of the whole social body that must sustain the universal authority of the social will. It is this association that forms the compacture of force which is to give irresistible energy to the sword of justice. The social force thus united and compacted assures the public efficiency of executive power.

'This power is to be called forth as may be right for the benefit of the respective portions of society. Destined to be ordered into action in pursuance of their reciprocal will, it is made a deposite and sequestrated as a physical security that such will sh. 'l be observed. For effectuating the eventual determinations of right there is constituted a depositary of the power so sequestrated. And the high betrustment of taking care that such determinations be faithfully executed is given in charge to this depositary.

'Such is the EXECUTIVE CHIEF.' &c. pp. 43, 44.

Had the taste which directed the mechanical presided also over the literary execution of this pamphlet, we might have had the pleasure of giving a different account of it. It is rare to see better printing or paper from the American or any other press.

ART. XVI.—*A Grammar of the English Language, containing a variety of critical remarks, the principal part of which are original. By John Barrett, of Hopkinton, state of Massachusetts; teacher of the Greek, Latin, and English languages.* The second edition. Boston, 1819, 12mo, pp. 214.

No true friend of good parsing or good humour can justify it to his conscience, certainly not to his interest, to remain long out of possession of this book. It may be regarded, in a twofold light, either as a system of English Grammar, in which respect it contains all that is necessary to be known, about the parts of speech; or, what is far more precious in our sight, as a specimen of primitive simplicity of character. As to parsing, however valuable it may be for that class of men who probably first cultivated it, the grammarians, we are jealous that it is not an exercise extremely well adapted to the comprehension of children. The imitative principle is much stronger, in them, than the reasoning; and we imagine they would learn to read and write English correctly by simple practice, quite as soon as by this scholastic and to them unintelligible process of generalization, called parsing. If the child for instance says 'it is me,' why is it not enough to be told that he must say 'it is I?' It does not give him any additional light on the subject, to add that *me* is an objective case and cannot govern the verb. If he be mature enough to reason about this, he will perceive no other force in the reason thus given, than that which is derived from the arbitrary practice of the language; and to feel the force of this reason, he must learn, by constant repetition, what that practice is. For mere English learners the process is the more preposterous, as the names of the parts of speech, of most of the inflections, and of the rules of grammar are a dead letter to them, built on etymologies wholly unknown to them, and often grounded on the analogy of languages wholly different in their structure from the English. Much of our grammar is accordingly not English grammar, but rules for translating Latin into English. We have but two *cases* in our nouns, but are taught in some grammars that there are six. Not more than half our adjectives have degrees of comparison; and all that is strictly true about the rest is, that *pulcrior*, instead of being rendered *beautifuller*, should be rendered *more beautiful*. In the verbs, we have but one *tense* besides the

present, and yet our English grammars fit out the verb with six tenses. But to say that the perfect tense of *love*, is *I have loved*, means that *amavi*, for want of a corresponding English inflection, must be translated *I have loved*, which by the way it does not mean, more than half the time. Much the same is the case with the *modes;* and had the Arabian Grammarians attained the ascendancy in the European schools, which the Latin ones did, our verbs would probably have been adorned with twenty-eight conjugations in imitation of that copious language.

The most, which can be useful in the science of English grammar, is to have a name and a rule for all the inflections and peculiarities, which really exist. But to have an English tense or an English case for every thing analogous in Latin and Greek, is to study Latin and Greek, and not English. Nor is there any greater propriety in having a first and second future in English, than a first and second aorist and a dual number. And since there exists, and probably will continue to, a strong hankering after what is called parsing, we really wish some judicious teacher would have courage to analyze the language as it is, and teach his children not Latin and Greek grammar in disguise, but simple English. A good approach toward this was made some years since, in a short system of English grammar, extracted by Mr. Biglow from Adam's Latin Grammar; but the process might be carried farther, and the learning of the language be much facilitated to children.

But we turn to the little book before us. Mr. Barrett, it seems, from several highly respectable testimonials prefixed to his Grammar, is a teacher of some celebrity both of the English and of the learned languages. He has not been permanently fixed in that capacity, in any one spot, but has laboured at intervals in Hopkinton and Franklin, and if we are not grossly misinformed also at Attleborough and Mendon. Without pertinaciously rooting down on one spot, and teaching on, whether the children have learned out or the parents paid out, or not, Mr. Barrett goes where he is most wanted, and thus scatters abroad what light it is in his power to dispense. We presume we shall excite no one's jealousy, by pronouncing him the teacher of the first pretensions, in this walk of his profession; and in the practice of talking Latin with his pupils, as soon as they can understand it, we are

fearful he might be recommended as an example to some in its highest stations. We shall give our readers at once an idea of his character, by pronouncing him an enthusiast; a man whose heart is wrapped up in the pursuit, to which his life has been devoted, and who has transferred to Corderius and Virgil those affections which common men are prone to waste on a thousand gaudy vanities, of no real value in a grammatical point of view. From the indications of character contained in this little book, as well as the voice of fame, we should fancy he was not unlike the venerable personage, who in his transports of joy threw the manuscript of Æschylus into the fire; and if ever the happy day is to dawn upon us, when some cheerful spirit, with a cool observing eye, a benevolent temper, and a happy pen, shall look round about on society, and gather up the original traits of manners, which exist among us, to be embodied into a national novel, we are sure that such a character as this will be among the first, on which he will seize.

Madame de Stael says, in her Germany, that it would be well worth one's while to take some one leading idea (we think she has it) and devote his life to the pursuit of that. Mr. Barrett seems evidently to have been of her mind, and chosen *parsing* for his cynosure. Some philosophers have defined man a laughing animal, some a tool-making animal; and a distinguished living historian broadly hints, that he might be correctly characterised as a cooking animal. Whether our author would go the length of defining him to be a parsing animal, we know not; but at any rate he plainly considers that parsing is the final cause of language, and not the understanding of language the final cause of parsing. Thus,

> 'Methinks I tread in air,
> Surprising happiness, unlooked for joy!'

'*Methinks* is a most wretched word, and though we frequently find it in some of our best authors, yet it is so ridiculous and absurd, that it ought to be expunged from the English language; for there is no word, which carries more of stupidity on the front of it; and in my opinion can be *parsed* upon no principle whatever.'

Mr. Barrett accordingly proposes in all cases to correct *methinks* into *I think*, and gives the following instance of the correction;

'Methinks I see a heavenly host
Of angels on the wing,
Methinks I hear their charming notes;
How merrily they sing.'

Corrected

'I think, I see a heavenly host
Of angels on the wing,
I think I hear their charming notes;
How merrily they sing.'

Another agreeable illustration of our author's determination that the syntax shall come to pass though the heavens fall, is his doctrine that *you*, in the familiar style, is second person *singular*, and *are* the same, upon the ground that they are applied to one person.

'If any should object,' says he, 'that *are* is always in the plural number, and therefore cannot agree with a noun in the singular number, they may as well say that *were* is always of the plural number, and therefore cannot agree with a noun in the singular number; for instance, "if I were in your place, I would behave better."'

The biographical sketches interspersed throughout the work are of themselves worth three times the price of the book, which is but three shillings, New England money. We shall extract a few of them.

'Gerard Vossius, a gentleman of the greatest figure among the ancients, for grammatical learning.'

'Mr. Murray is in my opinion a very ingenious gentleman, and has made some excellent observations in his English Grammar.'

The notice of Tate and Brady is too long to be copied entire. We extract the following;

'In 1696,' says Mr. Barrett, 'they completed a new version of the psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in churches, in which they discovered the greatest ingenuity, and by which they did themselves the greatest honor; for his majesty was so well pleased with the performance, that he not only declared it to be a very ingenious piece of work, but *ordered* their translation of the psalms to be sung in all the churches, *which should see fit to receive it*'—

a most tyrannical imposition on conscience!

After some remarks on Sternhold and Hopkins, the recollection of Addison's translation of the 23d Psalm crosses his

mind. He must be a man of sterner stuff than we are, who can ever think of that translation, without being touched and softened, and our author, though with a misgiving that it was not much to the purpose, adds, 'though some may think it is a digression from my subject to insert it here, yet it is *so lovely* that I cannot omit it.

'The Lord my pasture shall prepare,' &c.

It is lovely, and we can hardly omit it ourselves. Whether for piety or poetry we know not where is any thing superior to it; nor in what language any thing is to be found more sweet in thought or diction (save one word a little too fine) than these lines;

'To fertile vales and dewy meads
My weary, wandering steps he leads,
Where peaceful rivers soft and slow
Amid the verdant *landscape* flow.'

The following character of Master Clark breathes the same kind spirit, and enthusiasm for his own pursuit, which is the source of all high excellence. Poor Mr. Clark's manes we think must rejoice at the tribute. Since the stern spirit of modern improvement has begun to spread in our country, his faithful translations of Eutropius and Justin have fallen into comparative disrepute, and there is reason for serious fears that his Cornelius Nepos will soon share the same fate.

'This Mr. Clark,' says our author, 'was a schoolmaster all his life. He was master of the public grammar school at Hull, in England, and author of the "Introduction to the making of Latin, to which is added the history of Greece and Rome," a book for which I have reason to be thankful to his memory. He also translated several of the classics from Latin into English, and was a very faithful, laborious and industrious gentleman; and it is really surprising to me, that such a worthy, respectable character was so little noticed by the literati.'

The following extract will show that though Mr. Barrett professes only to teach the Greek, Latin, and English language, he has not wholly neglected the French.

'Young gentlemen's and ladies' knowledge of the French language is not worth much, unless they understand the Latin language very well, if they acquire it by conversing with such gentlemen and ladies, as speak it with the greatest correctness and

propriety, or by studying it grammatically under the tuition of a gentleman well acquainted with it; for as there are so many words in it derived from the Latin language, they will have but an imperfect knowledge of French, and relish none of its beauties. I would therefore advise all young gentlemen and ladies, who propose to study French, to study Latin in the first place, if they can.

'The French word *suffla*, which is *bellows* in English, is a very beautiful word, being derived from the Latin verb *sufflo*, which is to blow under, which is compounded of *sub* and *flo*. *Sub* is *under* in Latin, and *flo* is *to blow*. The words in English, which are commonly given to these words in French, are not correct. '*Commez* vous portez vous, monsieur?' 'Fort bien, monsieur.' 'How do you do, sir?' 'Very well, sir.' These words are not, verbum pro verbo, or word for word, from the French. The following translation is word for word. 'How do you bear yourself up, sir?' or, 'how do you sustain or support yourself, sir?' 'Bravely well, sir.' *Commez* is derived from the Latin adverb *quomodo*, *how*. *Vous* is derived from the plural personal pronoun *vos* in Latin, which is *you*. *Portez* is derived from the verb *porto* in Latin, the primary signification of which is, to bear or carry on the arms. *Fort* is derived from the adverb *fortiter* in Latin, which is *bravely*, being derived from the adjective *fortis*, which is *brave*. *Bien* is derived from the adverb *bene* in Latin, which is *well*.' pp. 170, 171.

As the controversy with respect to the importance of a knowledge of the learned languages is daily getting more interesting among us, and as we profess an attachment wholly disinterested to them, we take pleasure in bringing so able an advocate as Mr. Barrett into the field on our side, together with the auxiliaries which he has mustered.

'The late celebrated Lord Chesterfield, that prodigy of science and polite literature, says, that it is a very great shame indeed, for a gentleman who professes himself a scholar to be ignorant of the Greek and Latin languages: and the late pious and venerable Doctor Watts, whose virtues and mental accomplishments were too great ever to be forgotten, says, that they are the foundation of law, physick, and divinity.

There is particularly, in the following paragraph not a little pungency as well as truth.

'I have been credibly informed, that the celebrated Doctor Rush has spoken very contemptuously of the Greek and Latin

languages, and I was surprised to hear it; for as great a genius as he is esteemed by some, he did not discover his sense there; and I very much doubt whether the doctor ever had a good knowledge of them; for I never heard a gentleman speak disrespectfully of them, who understood them well. No gentleman ever has spoken more highly of them, than the Rev. Vicessimus Knox, in his Essay upon the Education of Youth in Grammar Schools, by which he has done himself the greatest honour.' p. 173.

With respect to female education the doctrines of our author are equally sound. He quotes the opinion of 'the Rev. Vicessimus Knox of Tunbridge, England, a gentleman highly distinguished by a truly polite classical education, a grammar schoolmaster, and a clergyman of the honourable church of England,' 'that a young lady of good memory and brilliant abilities ought to be carefully instructed in Greek and Latin.' Nor does he shrink from the objection which may be made to their so doing.

'But some say, what advantage will it be to a young lady to study Greek and Latin? It will be much better for her to be employed at her needle, or even at her cards, and spinning wheel; but, if she must have some polite accomplishment, let her have the polite and fashionable accomplishment of dancing genteelly, together with some other things which Lord Chesterfield has laid down in his principles of politeness. I never was opposed to young ladies behaving civilly and well wherever they go, but was always opposed to their spending so much of their precious time in dancing, which might be spent in other things, much more useful and necessary for them; and I very much dislike some things which Lord Chesterfield has laid down in his principles of politeness, though it must be confessed, that he was a gentleman of distinguished abilities, a most excellent classic scholar, a cordial friend to a truly polite classical education, understood human nature completely, and certainly has written some things, which are worthy not only to be noticed, but practised by every one.' p. 172, 173.

To show that he has had some encouragement in actual experience, for recommending the study of the learned languages to young ladies, our author informs us that he has 'lately instructed three young ladies in the Latin language, in the dialogues of Corderius and the fables of Æsop, in Franklin, Massachusetts; and that they were remarkably docile, and discovered the greatest ingenuity in conjugating

and declining the verbs.' 'I wish for my part with all my heart,' he adds, 'that it might become fashionable for young ladies to study Greek and Latin. It would be much better for them, than frequenting balls and theatrical amusements, and a good knowledge of Latin is indispensably necessary for such young ladies, as design to study French.'

There is, as far as we have observed, in this little work, but one severe thing, notwithstanding the wide reach of some of the remarks; and this one is so sly, and withal so well meant and well felt, that we think it likely one half of those who peruse the book will pass over it unawares, and the other half join in it. Mr. Barrett is speaking of such phrases, as 'buy him some books,' and remarks, that 'men, who have not a critical knowledge of English grammar, often run into a very great mistake in parsing such phrases, as being both governed by the verb, when it is the latter noun only that is governed by it, and the former noun is governed by a preposition understood.' He then adds, 'if *him* were the object after buy, then I should command the person whom I addessed to *buy him*; and where is the man to be bought? At Boston market or Providence? Must I have occasion to use these words. Risum teneatis amici.'

Comparisons are notoriously invidious; nor do we wish to hazard our popularity by giving an opinion between this grammar, and various others in circulation. We doubt not they have all their respective merits. It would perhaps be found, on an impartial examination, that, though the 'Young Ladies' Accidence' is particularly strong in the pronominal adjective, Perry has the advantage in the potential mode; and if Murray's Abridgment has laid down the syntax with singular discretion, Tucker is equally forcible on the semicolon. But none of them, that we have had an opportunity of perusing, exhibits half the originality of character, which shines out in every page of the grammar before us, and we cannot but again enjoin on all our readers, who love to encourage merit, to reward zeal, and to observe the working of unsophisticated nature, to purchase this book.

ART. XVIII.—*Viaggi d'Amerigo Vespucci, con la Vita, l'Elogio e la Dissertazione giustificativa di questo celebre Navigatore, del Padre Stanislao Canovai delle Scuole Pie, pubblico Professore di Matematica. Opera postuma.* Firenze, 1817, 8vo, pp. 392.

IT is a most remarkable circumstance, as illustrating the situation of Italy in modern times, and as affording us a monitory example, that, although England, France, and Spain, three powers who partitioned among themselves the greatest part of America, all derived the title to their transatlantic possessions, from the voyages and discoveries of Italian navigators, not a single colony was planted on this continent, nor a single rood of territory gained, by the inhabitants of Italy. Columbus, a Genoese, acquired for Spain a colonial dominion great enough to satiate the most craving ambition, but, reaping no personal advantage from his labors excepting an unprofitable fame, after having been ignominiously driven from the world he made known to Europeans, died in poverty and disgrace. Cabot, a Venetian, by sailing in the service of England, conferred on that nation a claim, the magnitude and importance of which he never lived to comprehend. Verazzani, a Florentine, explored this country for the benefit of France, and sailing hither a second time for the purpose of establishing a colony, perished at sea. Vespucci gave his name to the new world, and thus rendered his reputation as everlasting as that new world itself, without acquiring thereby any advantage for his native country. And so unhappily was this country split into diminutive states, and debilitated by intestine disorders, that, whilst her sons were toiling in other lands, as aliens and exiles, and lavishing their nautical skill and intrepidity upon thankless foreigners, whilst her merchants were the factors and her seamen the pilots of the whole earth,—she herself, that had once been the mistress of nations, never attempted to enter into the glorious competition for empire, which was agitating the rest of Europe. Even the Eternal City, so far from seeking or having the power to seek colonial acquisitions, was too weak to defend her territories against the encroachments of domestic enemies, or to secure her liberties from foreign invaders, at the very time that her ecclesiastical head was exercising a prerogative seldom enjoyed by her proudest emperors, enfeoffing a favourite vassal with whole provinces in America, as if they had

been a petty barony, and bartering away nations more numerous, and kingdoms more wide, and rich and magnificent, than all the conquests of Alexander. Nothing could more clearly indicate the advantages of our federal government: for if the jealous states of Italy, which, notwithstanding the superior genius of her people, were individually so powerless, had been united into one stable league, they would not have been from that day to this the prey of contending factions, and the slaves of every military monarch beyond the Alps; and if the revolutionary spirit which now pervades Italy, pointing to the union of countries already one in language, interests, character and ancient fame, should produce the consolidation of Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia into a federal republic, Italy, perhaps, would renew the long line of her national glories, and assume a rank amongst her contemporaries, which she has never held since the dissolution of the Western Empire.

Not the least distinguished of those Italians, whose fame is inseparably connected with the history of our country, is Amerigo Vespucci. This celebrated navigator, from whatever cause, acquired the honor of communicating his name to the new world. If he did not deserve this glorious pre-eminence, it is too late to remedy the injustice, now that the universal consent of mankind for three hundred years has sanctioned it. Reluctantly as the name of Vespucci may be suffered to remain, it is impossible to substitute that of Columbus. The circumstances, however, which occasioned this quarter of the globe to be denominated America, form an interesting subject of inquiry, for pursuing which the work before us affords considerable aid. The subject is involved in obscurity, chiefly in consequence of the want of authentic documents, although very much by reason of the great acrimony, with which the controversy has been managed: Vespucci having been accused of employing the worst artifices for the purpose of depriving Columbus of his merited honour, and the cause of Vespucci being espoused, with more zeal than discretion, by many of his countrymen, of whom the most recent and noted is Padre Canovai. The Eulogy and Dissertation were first published in 1788; but the whole was afterwards revised by the author, and enlarged with the addition of the Life and Voyages. Canovai exhibits considerable research, erudition and ingenuity, but very little judgment; he is pro-

lix beyond all endurance, abounding with digressions and repetitions; and he weakens our faith in his statements by displaying, without disguise, the polemical spirit of a champion. We have likewise examined a Life of Vespucci, published in 1745 by Bandini;* an Eulogy in 1787 by Lastri;† and Researches concerning his Discoveries in 1789 by Bartolozzi; all of them printed at Florence. After briefly narrating the life of Vespucci, we will advert to the arguments adduced on both sides, and endeavor to make as fair a statement of the question, as our means of information will permit.

Bandini, Lastri and Bartolozzi, and indeed most of those books, which we have had occasion to inspect in the prosecution of our inquiry, we met with in that rich historical repository, the library of the late professor C. D. Ebeling, which was not long since presented to the university at Cambridge, by the munificence of Mr. Thorndike of Boston. And we gladly embrace this opportunity to say, that we have seldom looked into any subject connected with the history or geography of our country, without deriving ample satisfaction from the rare and valuable books belonging to this collection. In the number which it contains of Latin, Italian, French, German, Spanish, and Portuguese works, which throw light on our national antiquities, we do not believe it is equalled by any thing else of the kind in America. Such a library is the rightful property of the land, which it was designed to illustrate; and as nothing would have been more painful than to see it dispersed at the death of its original owner or transferred into any collection in Europe, we cannot too highly praise the generous and patriotic spirit, by which it was rescued from the hands of foreigners and deposited in a place, where it could promote the cause of liberal knowledge in the United States. We have been informed that, at the time when it was purchased by Mr. Thorndike, the Hanoverian ministry were attempting to buy it for the University at Göttingen, and the Prussian for that of Berlin.‡

* We have been unable to procure the original of Bandini, and have used in its stead a German translation, printed in 1748, at Hamburg.

† Of this curious book only a hundred copies were printed, one of which belongs to the Ebeling library.

‡ Some of the rare books in this library, 'quinquaginta annorum indefessa opera, summo studio, maximoque impendio collecta,' we had intended to enumerate; but we found it impossible to do this in the compass of a note, without giving a very inadequate and unjust representation of the value of the collection.

Amerigo Vespucci was born at Florence, March 9, 1451. His father, Anastasio, was a man of narrow fortune, although of noble blood; and Bandini enumerates many persons of civil or literary distinction, who belonged to the family.* Amerigo was educated by his paternal uncle, Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, who was a scholar of some note in the fifteenth century, and deserves to be remembered as the instructer of Pietro Soderini, afterwards Gonfaloniere of Florence, and as the intimate friend of the celebrated Marsilio Ficino. Nothing is known with certainty concerning the early part of Amerigo's life:† it is probable, however, from the nautical skill which he subsequently displayed, that he was employed in maritime commerce: but about the year 1492, when he was more than forty years of age, he went to Spain to carry on some mercantile enterprize for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici;‡ and here it is that his life begins to assume historical importance. Vespucci resided in Seville when Columbus returned from his first voyage with such splendid success; and being wearied with the vicissitudes of commerce, as he himself informs us, he determined to gratify his curiosity by making a voyage to the newly discovered islands in the West.§ That he soon had an opportunity to do this, and embraced it, is questioned by none of those, who deny him to have been the discoverer of America; but the date of his first voyage, his companions in it, and his own station, are matters of great uncertainty. Those who defend the claims of Vespucci assert, that he was appointed one of the principal pilots or masters of four ships sent to pursue the discoveries begun by Columbus; that he sailed from Cadiz in this fleet May 10, 1497, and in thirty seven days discovered the conti-

* Bandini, Vita e Lettere d'Amerigo Vespucci, G. tr. p. 7 et seqq.

† The house of Vespucci is shown at Florence, having over the door the following inscription: 'Americo Vespuccio, Patricio Florentino, sui et Patriæ Nominis Illustratori, Amplificatori Orbis Terrarum, in hac olim Vespuccia Domo a tanto Domino habitata Patres Sancti Johannis a Deo Cultores gratæ Memoriæ Causa P. C. A. S. MDCCXIX.' Lastri, Elogio d'Am. Vespucci, in notis; Bandini, Vita e Lettere, G. tr. p. 5.

‡ Bartolozzi, Ricerche istorico-critiche, p. 79.

§ Canovai pretends, p. 221, (and our own Purchas says the same, Pilgrimage, p. 718,) on the authority of Munster's Cosmographia, p. 1108, that Vespucci accompanied Columbus in his second voyage in 1493; but Vespucci himself clearly intimates the contrary by his silence, as well as by a passage in his letter to Soderini, ed. Canovai, p. 28. 'Mi disposi,' he says, 'di andare a vedere questa parte del mondo e le sue maraviglie. E a questo mi si offerse tempo e luogo molto opportuno: che fu.' &c. And then he goes on to describe his voyage in 1497.

nent or main land, near the mouth of the river Orinoco; and that, therefore, as Columbus did not reach the main land until July 1498, Vespucci is to be considered the first discoverer of the continent of America. All this, of course, is denied by those who support the pretensions of Columbus.

However, as their opponents continue, as soon as the Spaniards came in sight of the shore, they sent out a boat to examine it, where they saw many naked savages, who fled at their approach. They coasted along towards the northwest, and in two days arrived at a good harbor, in which they landed, and endeavored to persuade the natives, who crowded to the shore, to accept little bells, glass and other trinkets, but with little success. The next morning, however, the savages came again to the shore, with their wives and children, and swam out to the boats, testifying considerable confidence in the strangers. They were described as perfectly naked, of a middle stature and well proportioned, their bodies of a reddish color, and destitute of hair, excepting on the head, where it was long and black. They were very swift in running and expert in swimming. They frequently went to war with each other on account of some petty feud, which the children inherited from their fathers, using bows and arrows or javelins for arms, but fighting without any system or regularity. No king, cazique or fixed government was discernible among them; and when any act requiring concert was to be performed, the old men went about from family to family to persuade them to unite their forces. The difference in their languages was very great, there seeming to be a new one every hundred leagues; but all of them spoke little and in a low voice. They had no particular hours for eating, but sat down on the ground and took food whenever they were prompted by hunger. They used little animal food, living chiefly on the root of the cassada. Their houses were of a conical shape, made of the limbs of trees covered with palm leaves, and were so large as sometimes to contain six hundred individuals. Every seven or eight years they changed their habitation, thinking it unhealthy to live longer in the same place. Their only riches consisted in ornamental feathers and strings of fish-bones intermixed with green and white beads: for they had little or no traffic with each other; and made no account of the gold and gems, which the country produced. No signs of religion could be discerned among

them, no temples, nor idols. In sickness they employed a few simple medicines: when a relative was incurably sick or superannuated, they abandoned him in the woods: and in funerals they buried the dead with food and drink in the grave, but without making any lamentations.

After remaining here till they had become sufficiently acquainted with the country, Vespucci and his companions resumed their course to the northwest, until they came to the spot since called Venezuela, from its resemblance to the city of Venice. A village, consisting of forty-four large bell-shaped houses, was built on piles in the middle of a lake, the houses being connected together by draw-bridges, which the inhabitants raised as soon as they saw the Spaniards. Some of them ventured to approach the ships in canoes made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, and after gazing at the ships a short time, paddled back to the shore with great precipitation, and fled away toward the mountains. They soon returned, however, bringing with them sixteen young women, and showed a disposition to get on board the ships; but a large number of women suddenly ran to the shore, crying out and tearing their hair, upon which the savages shot their arrows at the ships and obliged the Spaniards to repel them with fire-arms.

Vespucci then sailed eighty leagues farther along the coast, landing occasionally, and at last entering a sheltered haven, where the Spaniards were amicably received, and solicited to go on shore and remain a few days with the inhabitants. Accordingly twenty Spaniards suffered themselves to be conducted some distance up the country and spent nine days there, being feasted with the greatest hospitality, and entertained as if they were beings of a superior race. The Spaniards were astonished at the wonderful fertility of the country they passed through, clothed, as it was, with perpetual verdure, and full of luxurious tropical forests filled with innumerable birds of the gayest plumage and richest voices. The country seemed quite populous, and great multitudes assembled to admire the dress, complexion, and ships of the Europeans, by whom they submitted to be baptized in the rites of the Catholic church.

Vespucci traced the coast several hundred leagues farther, until he came to a harbor much superior to any which he had previously entered. Thirteen months having now elapsed since his departure, the provisions began to fall short and the

seamen to complain. On this account the ships were repaired and preparations made for returning. The savages assisted the Spaniards and gave them provisions with great alacrity; asking, as a reward, that the latter would support them in an attack on some islanders in the vicinity, with whom they were at war. The Spaniards agreed to do so, after having waited a month to refit, and accordingly followed the canoes of the savages to one of the Caribbee islands,* whose inhabitants they wantonly attacked, burning their villages, killing many of them, and carrying away two hundred and fifty to Spain.

Vespucci, having returned from this voyage with great reputation in October 1498, was despatched by the king the next May, with three caravels, to perform another voyage of discovery. In this voyage, which occupied about a year, he explored the coast under and near the equator, from what is now called cape St. Roque to the river Orellana. This voyage was signalized by few remarkable incidents, the savages being very similar to those described in the preceding voyage. Vespucci purchased of them a considerable quantity of pearls, which they readily exchanged for European toys.

On his second return to Seville in June 1500, he was solicited by Emanuel, king of Portugal, to enter into his service: which he finally consented to do, although he seems to have continued still in good credit with the king of Spain. He departed from Lisbon with three ships May 15th 1501, and having sailed along the coast of Africa as far as cape Verde, he steered thence across the Atlantic, and after a boisterous passage of ninety-seven days he made land in the latitude of 5° S., and followed the windings of the shore almost the whole length of South America. Some have thought this the first discovery of Brazil; others consider that to have been made by Vicente Yanez Pinzon; but Joam de Barros, Castanheda and Osorio concur in attributing its discovery to Pedro Alvares Cabral, a Portuguese admiral, who was blown off to America the year before, whilst endeavoring to sail round the cape of Good Hope, and formally took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, calling it Santa Cruz.† Herrera asserts that Vespucci was at this time with

* It is uncertain which of the islands this was; Vespucci calls it Ity; but it does not seem to have been Hispaniola.

† J. de Barros, Da Asia, i, p. 14 and 388; Castanheda, Hit. do Descobrimento e Conquista da India, l. i, c. 30, 31; Osorio, Da Vida e Feitos d' ElRei D. Manoel, t. i, p. 141.

Alonzo de Ojeda, of whom hereafter, in the gulf of Darien:* but as P. Martyr, a contemporary historian of undoubted veracity, declares that Vespucci had sailed many degrees south of the line in the service of Portugal;† as Rocha Pitta, Barlæus, G. Giuseppe, Lafitau, Southey and other historians say the same,‡ although they do not all agree as to the date of his voyage; and as the Spanish writer Gomara declares expressly that Vespucci was sent on a voyage of discovery in 1501 by the command of Emanuel;§—it seems past a doubt that the voyage was at that time actually performed.

To proceed therefore with the account we have of this voyage,—as soon as Vespucci came in sight of land, a boat was sent on shore to procure refreshments: for the mariners were exhausted and their provisions nearly consumed by the length of their voyage. A crowd of naked savages was collected on the summit of a hill, who seemed gazing at the ships with admiration, but could not be induced, by any signs of friendliness, to lay aside their shyness and approach the Portuguese. Baubles were left on the shore to conciliate the savages, which, as the strangers retired, were picked up with indications of great astonishment. The next day the savages again assembled, and kindled fires on every side; but they were still timid and fled from the Europeans. Upon this two of the seamen offered to follow the savages and ascertain whether they had any precious drugs, spices or gold: which they were permitted to do, with strict injunctions to return in five days. After a week had elapsed, however, without bringing any tidings of the seamen, the Portuguese landed, perceiving the natives had brought their women with them and were desirous of holding a conference by their means; but as the Portuguese saw the women advance reluctantly, they agreed to return to their boats and send forward only one of their company, a young man of great strength and activity. Whilst the women were gathering around him and handling him with obvious wonder, another woman came down from the hill with a large stake in her hand and struck

* Historia de los Hechos de los Castellanos, d. i, l. 4, c. 11.

† P. Martyr ab Angleria, Ocean. Decad. ii, l. 10, p. 199.

‡ Rocha Pitta, Hist. da America Portugueza, p. 54; Barlæus, Res gestæ in Brasilia &c. 12mo, 1660, p. 24; G. Giuseppe di S. Teresa, Istor. delle Guerre del Brasile, pt. i, p. 7; Lafitau, Histoire des Découvertes des Portugais, t. iv, p. 116; Southey's Hist. of Brazil, v. i, p. 14. See also Collection of Voyages made by the Portuguese and Spaniards, p. 321.

§ Gomara, Historia de las Indias, c. 103, in Barcia's Historiadores.

him so violent a blow, that he instantly fell down to all appearance dead; when the rest seized him by the feet and dragged him away towards the hill. The savages then rushed to the shore in a body and discharged their arrows at the boats, but were quickly dispersed by the firing of four guns. The women had now kindled a large fire, at which they were roasting the body of the Portuguese; and in a short time they cut it in pieces, tearing the flesh with their teeth and devouring it with ferocious triumph, intimating, by signs, that they had done the same with the bodies of their other prisoners. The Portuguese were so much incensed by this horrid sight, that forty of them were eager to go on shore and revenge the death of their countrymen; but they were prevented by the commander of the fleet.

They immediately departed from this place, steering towards the southeast for some time, until they reached a cape, whence the shore ran in a southerly direction, soon after which they landed and found the natives of a mild and friendly disposition, three of them even consenting to leave their country and go to Portugal. They now coasted along several hundred leagues, every where cordially welcomed by the savages, whose aspect and manners resembled those described in the preceding voyage, excepting that their cheeks, nostrils, lips and ears were perforated with numerous large holes, which were filled with pendents of smooth pebbles, polished bones and strings of beads, so as to give their faces a most frightful appearance. The whole country was delightful and temperate, diversified with hill and dale, intersected by innumerable rivers and covered with deep forests. The Portuguese saw many pearls and precious stones; and although they found little gold, the savages all affirmed that it existed among them in great abundance. The soil produced the richest fruits spontaneously; and the trees diffused a fragrance so exquisite and distilled so many sweet gums, that the Portuguese supposed no climate could possibly be more salubrious. Vespucci was more struck with the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the air and the beauty of the natural productions of Brazil, than he had been by any thing which he saw or felt in his preceding voyages; and declared that if there was a paradise on earth, it must be found in these magnificent regions of the West. As in this voyage he sailed far south of the equator, he was introduced to many

constellations invisible in Europe, and particularly mentions the four brilliant stars in the southern hemisphere, which form the Cross of the South, described, with an imagination resembling prophecy, in the celebrated verses of Dante:

'Io mi volsi a man destra, e posi mente
All' altro polo: e vidi quattro stelle
Non viste mai, fuor ch' alla prima gente.
Goder parea' l ciel di lor fiammelle.
O settentrional vedovo sito,
Poi che privato se' di mirar quelle!'

After laying in provisions for six months, the Portuguese left the coast and stood off to the southward until they reached the latitude of 52° S., where meeting with a violent tempest they ran in towards the land again; but neither discovering any harbor nor seeing any inhabitants on this cold, inhospitable shore, they concluded to return. After making Serra Leona on the coast of Africa and there burning one of their ships, that was disabled, in September 1502 they safely arrived at Lisbon. If the season had been favorable, there is little doubt that Vespucci would have reached the Pacific ocean: for he was confident that there was a passage by the southwest, and anticipated great benefit to his country from the discovery, as well as a reputation to himself, which should be the solace and glory of his coming old age.*

In consequence of this belief Vespucci was sent on another voyage by Emanuel the next spring, Vespucci having the command of one ship and Gonzalo Coelho that of the whole squadron,† which consisted of six ships well furnished with every thing necessary for a long expedition. The design of the voyage was to seek for the island of Malacca in the East

* 'Mentre adunque io anderò in levante, facendo il viaggio per mezzogiorno, navigerò per ostro, e giunto che sarò là, io farò molte cose a laude e gloria di Dio, a utilità della Patria, a perpetua memoria del mio nome, e principalmente a onore e alleviamento della mia vecchiezza, la quale è già quasi venuta.' Lettera secunda a Lorenzo de' Medici, ed. Canovai, p. 99.

† Vespucci does not tell us the name of him, who had the chief command; but Coelho is known to have made a voyage exactly corresponding with this in time and circumstances. Southey's History of Brazil, v. i. p. 20; G. Giuseppe, Ist. delle Guerre del Brasile, pt. i. p. 8; Rocha Pitta, Hist. da America Portugueza, p. 54; Osorio, Da Vida e Feitos d' ElRei D. Manoel, t. i. p. 189.

Indies, which was reputed to be the mart and magazine of oriental commerce. Coelho, who was obstinately ignorant, persisted in standing for Serra Leona, without any cause, and contrary to the advice of the other captains; by which means they were driven off the coast of Africa by a violent gale of wind. The first land they made was a small island, on the breakers near which Coelho struck, and his vessel, by far the best in the squadron, sunk, and every thing on board, excepting the crew, was irrecoverably lost. Coelho ordered Vespucci to sail around the island to find a harbor; but after he had waited there in great anxiety eight days without seeing the fleet, he stood out to sea and soon came up with one of the ships, from which he learned that the rest had already proceeded on their voyage. Vespucci therefore resumed his course in company with this ship, in the hope of rejoining their consorts, and after some time entered a port in Brazil, to which they gave the name it still bears, Bahia de Todos os Santos. He remained here two months in fruitless expectation of his comrades, and then sailing on to the south, entered another port in the latitude of 18° S., where he continued five months. He built a fort here and left twenty-four men with arms, ammunition and provision for six months; this being the first European settlement ever made in Brazil. He arrived at Lisbon in June 1504, with a cargo of brazil-wood, apes and parrots, and was received with great joy, his friends having relinquished all hope of his return. Vespucci attributes the loss of the other four ships to the misconduct of Coelho, whom, he says, God punished for his presumptuous folly.

Vespucci seems now to have quitted the service of Portugal, for Herrera says* that in 1507, being at the court of Ferdinand, he was chosen by the king to reside in Seville for the purpose of preparing charts, directing the course of ships and examining pilots, with a yearly salary of 75000 maravedis and the title of Chief Pilot. This account is confirmed by Munoz;† who likewise determines the time of his death, which was before disputed‡, to have been February 22, 1512, a little more than four years after his appointment.

* Historia General, d. i, l. 7, c. 1.

† Historia del Nuevo Mundo, prol. p. 14.

‡ Bartolozzi, Ricerche, p. 48; Bandini, Vita e Lettere, G. tr. p. 123; Canovai, p. 156.

His widow Maria Cerezo, according to the same historian, received an annuity of 10000 maravedis. These few disconnected facts are all that is handed down to us with regard to the life of Vespucci. We learn from P. Martyr,* that his nephew, Giovanni Vespucci, inherited his skill in navigation. For whatever division may have existed amongst men of letters with respect to the discoveries of Vespucci, none of his enemies, not even those, who accuse him of the basest forgery, have denied him the merit of being superior to most of his contemporaries in the knowledge of practical astronomy, geography and all the nautical sciences.

Having thus run over the life of Vespucci, we shall be prepared to examine the discussion concerning his discoveries. The principal question, as we before remarked, is with respect to his first voyage; what was its date, what his rank in the squadron, and who his companions. Our knowledge of his voyages is derived entirely from the narrative of Vespucci himself, contained in three letters written by him to his patron Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, and another to Pietro Soderini. Of the three letters to Lorenzo de' Medici, the oldest, written soon after his return from his second voyage, of which it gives an account, was first published, from a manuscript preserved in Florence, by Bandini;† and the next, describing his third voyage, was first published by Bartolozzi.‡ But the last of these letters, which contains a fuller account of the same third voyage, is ascertained to have been printed at Vicenza so early as the year 1507, in the oldest known collection of voyages, entitled *Mondo Novo e Paezi novamente ritrovati da Alberico Vespuzio*, a book, usually quoted as that of Luigi da Cademosto, from the circumstance of its containing his voyages in the employ of Portugal.§ This work was reprinted in Latin the next year under the name of *Itinerarium Portugalensium*, and afterwards in 1532 in the collection of voyages published by Gri-

* Ocean. Decad. ii, l. 7 and iii, l. 5.

† Bandini, Vita e Lettere d' Amerigo Vespucci, G. tr. p. 230.

‡ Bartolozzi, Ricerche istorico-critiche circa alle Scoperte d'Amerigo Vespucci, p. 168.

§ See Bartolozzi, Ricerche, p. 14, 65; Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza, t. viii, p. 312; Tiraboschi, della Litteratura Italian. t. vi, pt. i, p. 220; Muñoz, Historia, prol. p. 23. P. Martyr complains of this Luigi da Cademosto, or Aloysius Cadamustus, for a plagiarism from his first Decade. Ocean. Decad. ii, l. 7.

næus*. The remaining letter of Vespucci's, dated at Lisbon, Sept. 4th, 1504, contains an abridged account of all his voyages. Bandini† cites a passage from a work printed at Rome in 1510, in which this letter is mentioned; but the oldest impression of it, to which we have access, is in the *Novus Orbis* of Grinæus. In this translation the letter is addressed to Renato, King of Sicily and Jerusalem: as reprinted in Italian by Bandini and Canovai, it is directed to Pietro Soderini. It seems doubtful to which of these distinguished individuals it was originally sent; but there is abundant evidence that it was actually written by Vespucci; because we have seen it can be traced down from his time to the present day. No writer, indeed, has ever pretended that this letter, or either of its companions, is spurious. And the history of his voyages related by Vespucci was always relied upon and cited as authentic, until the publication of Herrera's History in 1601; in which it was asserted that Vespucci's first voyage was in 1499, that he sailed under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, that he went as a merchant, and that in the account, which he afterwards published, of his voyages, he falsified their dates and framed his narrative with great art, in order to arrogate to himself the honour of being the first to discover the continent of America.‡ From Herrera this imputation was circulated by his countrymen, particularly Solorzano, Pizarro and Munoz; and by some judicious historians of other nations, Charlevoix for instance, Tiraboschi and Robertson.§

Now if these letters, and especially the last, are the genuine production of the person to whom they are invariably attributed; if they were written by one, who was an eye witness and chief agent in the events which he narrates; if they

* Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus incognitarum, fol. We have not seen the first edition, but have made use of that printed at Basle by Hervagius in 1555. A German translation was printed at Strasburg in 1534, entitled Die New Welt der Landschaften unnd Insulen so bis hieher allen Altweltbeschrybern unbekant.

† Vita e Lettere, G tr. p. 97.

‡ Herrera, Historia de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra-firme de el Mar Oceano, dec. i, l. 4, c. 1—4.

§ Solorzano, de Jure Indiarum l. i, c. 4 and Politica Indiana l. i, c. 2; Pizarro, Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo, fol. 1639, p. 50; Muñoz, Historia del Nuevo Mundo, prol. p. 14; Charlevoix, Hist. de St. Domingue t. i, p. 187; Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, t. vi, pt. i, p. 248; Robertson's Hist. of America, v. i, p. 149 and note 22.

were addressed to persons high in rank, whom it would have been alike dangerous and difficult to deceive with a fictitious tale of pretended discoveries; if describing, as they do, an event of so public, notorious and striking a nature as a successful voyage to the new world must have been at the time they were published, they were accredited as an authentic history by contemporary authors;—if all these presumptions in favor of Vespucci's narrative concur and lend their united force to establish his veracity, can we believe Herrera, when he proclaims Vespucci a shameless impostor, unless the accusation is supported by the most convincing and irrefragable proofs?

What then are the proofs produced by Herrera? Nothing whatever but his own unsustained assertion: the credibility of Herrera is staked against the credibility of Vespucci: and in such a conflict of testimony the *onus probandi* certainly lies on the side of those who attack, rather than on the side of those who defend. Herrera, who was historiographer royal to the king of Spain, professes to draw many of the materials for his history from original documents preserved in the archives of the kingdom. But it is evident that he found no such voucher for his accusation in those repositories, from the circumstance, that, although he charges Vespucci with falsehood, yet, in describing the voyage of Ojeda in 1499, he copies nearly all the circumstances from Vespucci's narrative of his first voyage, excepting that he intermixes a few from the second voyage as detailed in the letter to Soderini, together with some other facts relating exclusively to Ojeda and having no species of connexion with Vespucci. Therefore, supposing that Vespucci did in fact accompany Ojeda in 1499, it does not follow from any thing which Herrera advances, that Vespucci did not perform a voyage in 1497, two years anterior to the voyage of Ojeda.

None of the writers, who copy Herrera, adduce any historical evidence to corroborate his statement. Robertson,* indeed, relies upon the silence of several old historians, P. Martyr, Girolamo Benzoni, Oviedo and Gomara, as affording a strong presumption that Vespucci's narrative is false. P. Martyr was a Milanese, residing at the court of Spain from 1487 to 1526, who from time to time wrote an account

* Robertson's History of America, v. i, note 22.

of the discoveries making in America, in letters to various persons, which were afterwards collected under the title *De Rebus Oceanicis et Novo Orbe Decades tres.* Now P. Martyr's silence, if it proves any thing, proves too much, for he does not mention either of Vespucci's voyages excepting his third, nor does he mention the voyage of Ojeda; whereas it is acknowledged on all hands that both Vespucci and Ojeda, whether together or not, did both sail to the new world in 1499. The same remark may be made with regard to Benzoni, an Italian, who went to America in 1541 as an adventurer, and gives an account of what he saw himself without pretending to write a history of the new world.* Finally, neither Oviedo, who published his history in 1535, nor Gomara, who followed shortly after him, says a word of the voyage of Ojeda more than of that of Vespucci: and the silence of these authors is easily accounted for by the consideration, that no benefit accrued to Spain from the voyages of Vespucci, and that therefore they excited little attention in this kingdom, until after the New World came to be distinguished by the name of America. Gomara himself informs us that after the discoveries of Columbus were known, many were eager to continue them, some at their own expense, and others at that of the king, all of them hoping to enrich themselves, acquire distinction and merit the royal favor; but as most of their voyages led to no remarkable consequences, the memory of them was speedily lost. Such was the case, he continues, with those who explored the coast of Labrador *and of all those who went in the other direction to Paria from the year* 1495 *to the year* 1500.† Now as this passage refers to the precise period and course of the two first voyages of Vespucci, it fully explains the silence of all the early his-

* Some authors have been misled by citing, as the same with the original, the elegant translation of Benzoni by Urban Calveton, called Novæ Novi Orbis Historiæ, l. iii, 1578, 12mo.

† 'Entendiendo quan grandisimas Tierras eran las que Christoval Colon descubria, fueron muchos a continuar el Descubrimiento de todas; unos à sua costa, otros à la del Rei, y todos pensando enriquecer, ganar fama, y medrar con los Reies. Pero como los mas de ellos no hicieron sino descubrir, y gastarse, no quedò memoria de todos, que Yo sepa: especialmente de los que navegaron àcia el Norte, ...ni aun de todos los que fueron por la otra parte de Paria, desde el Año de mil quatrocientos y noventa y cinco hasta el de mil y quinientos.' Gomara, Historia de las Indias c. 36, in Barcia's Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, tom. ii.

torians with regard to him and is a new confirmation of his credibility.

We will mention but one other objection to Vespucci, which is insisted upon by the learned and elegant Historian of Italian Literature. He says that as Columbus was received at court in 1497 and honored with the rank of viceroy and governor-general of all the countries which should be discovered, he cannot believe, whilst Columbus was thus in the kingdom and in favor, that another person should be charged with the continuation of his discoveries, and that he should suffer tranquilly, or not have power to prevent, such an injury to his rights and reputation.* The same observation is made by Robertson and by Bossi in his Life of Columbus.† This reflection would be very just, if the premises were strictly true; but it is notorious that from 1495 to 1498 Columbus was perpetually harassed by the persecutions of his enemies and the jealous, procrastinating temper of the king of Spain. After two years of solicitation, complaint and remonstrance, he was only able to procure a small squadron of six ships for his third voyage, Besides, his privilege did not extend, as Tiraboschi imagined, to all the lands that should be discovered, but only to those *he himself* had discovered. And what is most of all to the purpose, Herrera and Munoz‡ expressly declare, that during this time Columbus expostulated in vain against the general permission, granted two years before, to make discoveries in the Indies; and that he could procure nothing but a partial revocation of this license: in conformity with which, as appears by the passage above cited from Gomara, many ships were sent to make discoveries at a time, which exactly corresponds with that assigned to the contested voyage of Vespucci. We feel ourselves authorized to conclude, therefore, that there is no evidence whatever, excepting the single assertion of Herrera, which contradicts, or is incompatible with, the supposition that Vespucci first discovered the continent of America.

Vespucci does not distinctly apprize us of the capacity in which he made his first voyage. Herrera says in a few words, that he went as a merchant and as one skilful in

* Storia della Letteratura Italiana, t. vi, pt. i, p. 252.

† Bossi, Vita di Cristoforo Colombo, p. 134. See also Elogj Storici di Cristoforo Colombo e di Andrea Doria, p. 145.

‡ Herrera, Historia de los Hechos &c., dec. i, l. iii, c. 9; Muñoz, Historia del Nuevo Mundo, p. 323.

geography and navigation;* but Charlevoix, improving upon this, adds, that he was interested in the voyage to a considerable amount.† Canovai controverts this position with great warmth, maintaining that Vespucci was one of the principal masters or pilots. If he was a mere passenger, it is probable that his nautical information soon drew him into notice and gave him great ascendancy over his companions; because the subsequent invitation of the king of Portugal proves that he had signalized himself in some way to deserve such a marked distinction. But there is no reason to suppose that he was the chief in command; for we learn from his own narrative that he was subordinate in his Portuguese voyages; and when he begins his first voyage, he barely says that he was chosen by the king *to assist in the discoveries* intended to be made:‡ an expression, which would be very singular if he was a superior officer, but which would admirably accord with the duties of one, who had no particular commission, but was expert in the sciences allied to navigation, and was merely to afford his advice and direction as a geographer in the prosecution of the voyage. This inference will be confirmed, if we recollect that the post and stipend of chief pilot, which Vespucci afterwards enjoyed in the court of Spain, although sufficient and proper for an eminent geographer, would be very inadequate as the remuneration of a person, who had distinguished himself in the sole conduct of a voyage of discovery to the new world.

Whom Vespucci accompanied in his first voyage, we have no means of determining, unless we adopt the account of Herrera, as Vespucci himself is equally silent on this subject and that of his own rank. Herrera, we have seen, puts him with Alonzo de Ojeda in 1499, but adopts all the incidents of the voyage from Vespucci's narrative of his first expedition; and the same historian likewise makes him a companion of Ojeda again in 1501, at which time, as we have proved from the

* Herrera, Historia, d. i, l. iv, c. i. Iba....Americo Vespucio por mercader, y como sabio en las cosas de Cosmografia y de la Mar.

† Americ Vespuce, riche marchand Florentin, non seulement s'y interessa pour une somme considerable, mais voulut même être du voyage &c. Hist. de St. Dominique, t. i, p. 187. The riches, which Charlevoix gratuitously confers on Vespucci, are imaginary. He cites no authority for the expression; and we know of none excepting Moreri, who says the same in his Dictionary.

‡ 'Il Re Don Ferrando di Castiglia avendo a mandare quattro navi a discoprire nuove terre verso l'occidente, fui eletto per Sua Altezza che io fussi in essa flotta per aiutare a discoprire.' Lettera a Piero Soderini.

authority of Gomara and others, Vespucci was performing a voyage for the king of Portugal. Wherefore the inference is inevitable, either that Vespucci and Ojeda did not sail in company, or that Herrera is mistaken as to the date, which he fixes for the second voyage of Vespucci; and at all events it appears that the testimony of Herrera is irreconcileable with facts, which are otherwise well established.

Having elucidated these circumstances with regard to Vespucci, we now proceed to consider when and in what manner the new world acquired his name. As to this question, Herrera gives us to understand, that when he was appointed chief pilot by the king of Spain in 1507, from this cause those parts of the Indies towards the south took the name of America. It is material to observe, that Herrera does not speak of the whole or the larger part of the Indies, but only of *those parts towards the south*:* for Tiraboschi, Prévost† and others have inferred from this, that Vespucci himself gave his name to the *whole* of the new world; Tiraboschi supposing that, in his office of chief pilot, he affixed his name to the new world in the charts he constructed, from which it was gradually spread through Europe. And it is sufficiently probable that, with the limitation which we shall presently point out, this supposition may be true.

Robertson affirms, that when Vespucci published the account of his first voyage, he labored with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his exploits, and drew up such an amusing history of the productions, inhabitants and customs of the countries he had visited, that the performance was rapidly circulated and read with admiration; and he is of opinion that from hence the new world, of which Vespucci was believed to be the discoverer, was called America. If Robertson had ever read Vespucci's letter, which he does not seem to have done, he would have perceived that nothing could be written with greater modesty. Vespucci very rarely speaks of himself individually, and does not pretend to have held any command or any particular charge in his first voyage; and in mentioning the discoveries made by the company, he never attempts to conceal, nay repeatedly declares, that Columbus had already been to the new world. This alone would suffice, we should imagine, to vindicate Vespucci from the imputation

* 'Y de aqui tomaron aquellas Partes de las Indias de el Mediodia el nombre de America.' Herrera, Historia, dec. i, l. vii, c. 1.

† Prévost, Histoire Gén. des Voyages, t. xii.

of having wilfully falsified his narrative, with a view to appropriate to himself the honor due Columbus. The narrative, as Robertson remarks, is written with considerable ingenuity and elegance, describing what the writer saw with so much accuracy, that every subsequent traveller confirms his statements; although the original letters are very bad Italian, insomuch that Canovai thought it necessary to illustrate them with a glossary of nearly two hundred foreign words or idioms, by which Vespucci's narrative was adulterated from his long residence in Spain. But that he exaggerates his discoveries, or exhibits any disposition to interfere with the claims of other navigators, we are persuaded is altogether false.

The earliest mention, which the industry of authors has been able to detect, of the word *America*, is about the year 1514, in a letter written by Joachim Vadianus, a Swiss scholar known by his commentary on Pomponius Mela. His words are: 'Si Americam a Vespuccio repertam, et eam Eoæ Terræ partem, quæ terræ Ptolomæo cognitæ adjecta est, ad longitudinis habitatæ rationem referimus, longe ultra hemisphærium habitari terram constat.'* The name does not seem to have come into general use until after the middle of the sixteenth century; but it is occasionally met with before that time; and Canovai† cites a Treatise on the Elements of Geography printed at Venice in 1535, in which it is doubted whether the word *America* should be employed, or not rather *Amerige*. But what deserves to be particularly noticed is the remarkable fact, that the name was not originally applied to the whole continent, but only to that part of it which is now denominated Brazil. This can be made to appear by the most ample testimony. We pass over the authority of Spaniards, who once proposed to call this continent Fer-Isabelica, from the sovereigns under whose auspices it was discovered,‡ and who, to this day, entertain a sort of horror of the word America, almost invariably speaking of the New World or the Indies. Looking therefore into Cademosto, P. Martyr, Benzoni and Grinæus, we find that each of them uses the term *Novus Orbis* where we should use *America*. In most of the maps published

* Joachim. Vadian. Epist. ad Rudol. Agricolam, ad calcem Pomponii Melæ de Situ Orbis, ed. fol. 1530, Lutet. Parisiorum, in the Boston Athenæum.

† Canovai, Dis. Giustificativ. n. 51.

‡ Pizarro, Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo, p. 51. Others have proposed to call it Orbis Carolinus, as a compliment to the emperor Charles V. See Solorzano, Politica Indiana, l. i, c. 2, s. 18.

between 1510 and 1570, *America* is applied in the limited sense, which we have stated. Thus Munster, whose *Cosmographia*, printed in 1550, was long a text-book in geography, has a map of the world, in which, towards the west of Europe, appear *Terra Florida*, then a little below *Cuba*, then *Hispaniola* and a little south of the line *Americæ vel Brasilii Insula*. In another map of Munster's, which is entitled *Novus Orbis*, are found grouped together *Terra Florida*, *Cuba*, *Hispaniola*, *Jamica*, *Parias* and lastly *Insula Atlantica quam vocant Brasilii et Americam*.* In a map of the world prefixed to the Grinæus of 1555, the western part is occupied with a number of islands which, beginning with that farthest north, are named *Terra Cortesia*, *Terra de Cuba*, *Isabella*, *Spagnolla*, *Insulæ Antigliæ*, *Zipangri* (Japan) and then *America*, an island considerably larger than either of the others, on the northern extremity of which is printed *Parias*, on the western *Cannibali*, and on the southern *Prisilia*. If the last word *Prisilia* refers to Brazil, it would seem that some geographers had begun to distinguish it as a part of America. The same edition of Grinæus contains a brief introduction to geography, in which occurs the following sentence: 'Insulas occidentales, nempe Hispanam, Ioannam, Spagnollam, Cubam, Isabellam, Antiglias, Cannibalorum Terram, Americam et reliquas incognitas terras primi mortalium adinvenerunt Christophorus Columbus et Albericus Vesputius.' Similar quotations can easily be multiplied. Thus Comes Natalis, who flourished about 1680, speaking of the famous expedition of the huguenots under Villegagnon, says that the French called Brazil America, because it was discovered by Amerigo Vespucci.† Jean de Lery, a huguenot minister, who visited Villegagnon's settlement in 1550, and twenty years afterwards published a very amusing account of his voyage, entitles it a History of a Voyage to Brazil, which is also called America ‡ The present use of the term seems to have been established soon after this time: for Ortelius, in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, applies the

* Canovai, Diss. Giustif. n. 76. Being unable to procure the works of Munster, we are dependant for these citations on Canovai.

† Comes Natalis, Hist. S. Temp. p. 139, as quoted by Canovai, Diss. Giustif. n. 75. See also Southey's Brazil, v. i, p. 272, note.

‡ Historia Navigationis in Brasiliam, quæ et America dicitur, &c. a Joanne Lerio, Burgundo, Gallice scripta, nunc vero primum Latinitate donata &c. 1585, 12mo.

words *America* and *Bresilia* as we do now, and delineates the geography of this continent with tolerable accuracy.* But the original signification was not immediately forgotten, as we perceive in Gaspar Ensl's History of the West Indies, where he says, that the name of America was originally given to the countries explored by Vespucci, although afterwards, on account of the dye-wood found there, common usage superadded the name of Brazil.† We will only add to these citations the authority of Rocha Pitta and Barbosa, who, in noticing Pedro Alvares Cabral, remark that the name of Santa Cruz, which Cabral gave the country he accidentally discovered, was afterwards changed into America, on account of the charts of it delineated by Vespucci, and finally into Brazil, from its producing the brazil-wood.‡

In this view of the subject, we may conjecture with a great degree of certainty, that, on Vespucci's return from his last voyages, the coast, which he had visited, began to pass by his name. Two reasons may be given why this honor should have been conferred on him, rather than on his superior officers. One reason is, that, although he was not first in command, yet his pre-eminence in geographical and nautical knowledge gave him that control over the proceedings of the rest, which men of strong minds inevitably acquire in moments of difficulty and danger. Indeed we find that he came back from his fourth voyage, when Coelho with the greater part of the squadron had perished, and when he himself was no longer expected: in which circumstances it would have been perfectly natural for the Portuguese to attribute to him the sole merit of the discovery of Brazil. The second reason is, that, as Vespucci was highly skilled in the construction of charts, and as those which he made were held in great esteem, he may, in depicting the coast of

* Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, fol. Antuerpiæ, 1584, apud Christophor. Plantinum.

† Gaspar Ensl, Indiæ Occidentalis Historia, Coloniæ 1612, 12mo. p. 130.

‡ 'Para eterno monumento da sua piedade, intitulou Pedro Alvares a nova terra com a religiosa antonomasia de S. Cruz, que depois se mudou em America, por ter demarcado as terras e costas maritimas della Americo Vespucci insigne cosmografo, e ultimamente Brasil, pela produçaõ da madeira, que tem côr de brazas.' Barbosa, Bibliotheca Lusitana, t. iii. p. 554. Rocha Pitta is no less explicit. 'Este foy,' says he, 'o primeiro descobrimento, este o primeiro nome desta regiaõ, que depois esquecida de titulo taõ superior, se chamou America, por Americo Vespucio, e ultimamente Brasil, pelo pao vermelho, ou côr de brazas, que produz.' Hist. da America Portugueza, p. 6.

Brazil, have given it the name of America.* Vespucci would have had a still more inviting opportunity to do this when he became chief pilot to the king of Spain; and considering the foregoing explanation of the manner in which the name of America was originally understood, in doing this he would not have been guilty of any injustice to the memory of Columbus. The subsequent extension of the name of America to the whole western hemisphere was an event, which Vespucci could never foresee; and therefore it ought not to be imputed to him as a crime, that, according to the remark of Lipsius,† the name of one discoverer engrossed a distinction in which others deserved to participate. And knowing, as we do, the confined application of his name in the beginning, we have a complete answer to all those calumniators of Vespucci, who charge him with falsifying the narrative of his first voyage, in order to seem better entitled to the honor of naming America.

We have pursued this investigation as a matter of historical curiosity, for the purpose of giving Vespucci's character its proper construction; but we think it as absurd as it is ungenerous in Canovai to endeavor to rob Columbus of his well-earned fame, on the pretence that he did not reach the continent until a few months after Vespucci. If Vespucci, excited by the success and instructed by the discoveries of Columbus, did penetrate a league or two farther into the great western ocean than his predecessor,—if Vespucci entered the track marked out by the keels of Columbus and continued it onward until he was stopped by the continent,—is any thing like this to cast a shadow over the glory of Columbus and degrade him into the mere finder of a petty islet, instead of the discoverer of the whole western world? If Vespucci's priority in discovering the southern continent was a valid reason for naming it America, there is equal reason, as Purchas observes, for denominating the northen Sebastiana or Cabotia; since it is notorious that the Cabots explored the coast from Labrador to the Gulf of Mexico, a full year before any portion of the continent was ever seen by Columbus. But the hand of chance has an

* P. Martyr informs us he had seen a Portuguese chart of parts of the new world, of which construction Vespucci assisted. Ocean. Decad. p. 199. See likewise Memorias de Litteratura Portugueza, t. viii, p. 339.

† Lipsii Physiolog. Stoic. l. ii, dis. 19, in ejus Oper. t. iv, p. 947.

influence so predominant in the assignment of honors by the world, that we can hardly feel surprised at the neglect of Columbus and the Cabots, to the exclusive distinction of Vespucci. The fortune of the name of America itself is not a little singular, as an instance of the mutations in human affairs; which, having been first given to a single province, next spread over the whole southern continent, then passed on to the northern, and now, from being the appellation of the whole new world, it seems about to be confined, by foreign nations at least, to our own youthful and aspiring republic.

ART. XVIII.—*The Speeches of Mr. Justice Story and of Mr. Webster, in the Massachusetts Convention, on the proposition of Mr. Dearborn for dividing the Commonwealth into districts for the choice of Senators, according to population.* Journal of the Debates. Boston. 1821.

WE believe it to be a general opinion, wherever the doings of the late convention in Massachusetts have attracted notice, that this assembly may enter into honorable comparison with any provincial assembly, which has ever been convened in our country, as well for the weight of personal character, as the high style of debate, with which it was marked. It is certainly a spectacle, too often occurring in our happy country to be called a novelty, but yet too honorable to be passed over without notice, to see so numerous an assembly, deputed from so considerable a population, and representing such conflicting interests, tranquilly discussing, settling, modifying principles and institutions, which cannot be touched in Europe without risk of property, liberty, and life. What may be the decision of the people of the state, upon any or all of the amendments of the Constitution submitted to them by the Convention, it is no part of our present purpose to conjecture.—Whatever it be, or whatever be the result of the doings of the Convention in the immediate light of a revision of the Constitution, we shall consider it as having answered one most important purpose, in having thus brought together the intelligence and political wisdom of all parts of our Commonwealth; and in having again sent out into Society in the reported debates, the most lumi-

nous and powerful discussions of the fundamental principles of our popular representative governments. It has been often stated to be the principal mode of diffusing political information throughout France, since the restoration of the monarchy, that the written speeches of the deputies are allowed to be printed in the Paris Journals, without being subjected to *the censure*. We have, it is true, no such degrading cause as this to congratulate ourselves on the circulation of political knowledge through the medium of the debates of the Convention. Still, however, much is gained by imparting to abstract questions of government and general principles of legislation the charm and attraction of a local immediate interest. Clothed with this interest, such questions and principles find much readier and wider access, than they can in any other possible way attain; and those fundamental maxims on which our institutions rest, are sent abroad in this way to our remotest villages, exemplified by an application to our own state of things, and enforced by the argument and eloquence of those whom we ourselves know, and see, and prize; which, but for this, would have continued to slumber on the shelves of the libraries.

Among the happy auspices, moreover, under which the late Convention assembled, ought certainly to be accounted the presence, as a member of it, of the illustrious person, who, forty years ago, was one of the principal framers of the constitution now to be revised. It is ever a matter of remark to meet with any one, who, at the age of eighty-six, still enjoys the vigorous possession of his faculties. If in addition to this rare felicity, such an individual has been engaged in public affairs for half a century; if he has filled a long succession of the most honourable offices, which the people can bestow, both at home and abroad; if he has been one of the founders of a nation, and afterwards called to preside over it; if such an one, surviving all his contemporaries, can yet come forward to make a lively, powerful, impressive speech, to an audience of a thousand persons, we may feel assured that we may pass millions of men in review before we shall meet another such example. Were there nothing else in commendation of our American institutions and character, we would rest their credit with an impartial posterity on this fact; that of those who have filled the first of-

fice in the government of our country—the elected kings of ten millions of people, as impatient of control as any nation that ever existed—all, but he, who is gone to his reward on high, are living in honorable retirement, and looking safely and contentedly at the administration of their successor.

Among the questions agitated in the late Convention, there were two which excited a more lively interest and brought into debate a greater display of eloquence and argument than any other. These two were the third article of the declaration of rights, involving the subject of the support of religion by law, and the question of senatorial representation. On the former of these subjects we propose to say a few words in another article. With regard to the senatorial representation, we cannot forbear to pay a particular tribute of respect to the two speeches which we have named at the head of this article. It would be doing injustice to many gentlemen, on both sides of the question, to refer to these two speeches as those alone which are deserving of particular notice; for we have heard it asserted by persons of long experience in our national and state legislatures, that they have not the recollection of a debate more powerfully sustained in either. We think, however, that the public voice will be with us in the emphatic notice of the speeches of Messrs. Story and Webster, and in ascribing to them a full share of the credit of having produced the almost unprecedented reversal of the sentiments of a majority of the house. It would be doing equal injustice to the character of this debate to suppose that it turned on common topics of local interest. For the great and leading doctrines of representative government, and the weight to which property is entitled in such a government, were discussed with an extent of learning and a depth of view not often witnessed out of professed treatises, drawn up in the leisure of the closet. The following extract from Mr. Webster's speech will, we think, justify this remark:—

'But, sir, I take the *principle* to be well established by writers of the greatest authority. In the first place, those who have treated of natural law, have maintained, as a principle of that law, that as far as the object of society is the protection of something in which the members possess unequal shares, it is just that the weight of each person, in the common councils, should bear a re-

lation and proportion to his interest. Such is the sentiment of Grotius, and he refers, in support of it, to several institutions among the ancient states.

'Those authors who have written more particularly on the subject of political institutions, have, many of them, maintained similar sentiments. Not, indeed, that every man's power should be in exact proportion to his property, but that, in a general sense, and in a general form, property, as such, should have its weight and influence in political arrangement. Montesquieu speaks with approbation of the early Roman regulation, made by Servius Tullius, by which the people were distributed into classes, according to their property, and the public burdens apportioned to each individual, according to the degree of power which he possessed in the government. By which regulation, he observes, some bore with the greatness of their tax, because of their proportionable participation in power and credit; others contented themselves, for the smallness of their power and credit, by the smallness of their tax. One of the most ingenious of writers is Mr. Harrington; an author not now read so much as he deserves. It is his leading object, in his Oceana, to prove, that power *naturally* and *necessarily* follows property. He maintains that a government, founded on property, is legitimately founded; and that a government founded on the disregard of property, is founded in injustice, and can only be maintained by military force. "If one man," says he, "be sole landlord, like the grand seignior, his empire is absolute. If a few possess the land, this makes the Gothic or Feudal constitution If the *whole people* be landlords, then is it a commonwealth." "It is strange," says Mr. Pope, in one of his recorded conversations, "that Harrington should be the first man to find out so evident and demonstrable a truth, as that of property being the true basis and *measure* of power." In truth he was not the first. The idea is as old as political science itself. It may be found in Aristotle, Lord Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other writers. Harrington seems, however, to be the first writer who has illustrated, and expanded the principle, and given to it the effect and prominence which justly belong to it.

In this sentiment, sir, I entirely agree. It seems to me to be plain, that in the absence of military force, political power naturally and necessarily goes into the hands which hold the property. In my judgment, therefore, a republican form of government rests, not more on political constitutions, than on those laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. Governments like ours could not have been maintained where property was holden according to the principles of the feudal system; nor, on the other hand, could the feudal constitution possibly exist with us. Our New

England ancestors brought hither no great capitals from Europe; and if they had, there was nothing productive in which they could have been invested. They left behind them the whole feudal system of the other continent. They broke away, at once, from that system of military service, established in the dark ages, and which continues, down even to the present time, more or less to affect the condition of property all over Europe. They came to a new country. There were, as yet, no lands yielding rent, and no tenants rendering service. The whole soil was unreclaimed from barbarism. They were themselves, either from their original condition, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on a general level in respect to property. Their situation demanded a parcelling out and division of the lands; and it may be fairly said, that this necessary act *fixed the future frame and form of their government.* The character of their political institutions was determined by the fundamental laws respecting property. The laws rendered estates divisible among sons and daughters. The right of primogeniture, at first limited and curtailed, was afterwards abolished. The property was all freehold. The entailment of estates, long trusts, and the other processes for fettering and tying up inheritances, were not applicable to the condition of society, and seldom made use of. On the contrary, alienation of the land was every way facilitated, even to the subjecting of it to every species of debt. The establishment of public registries, and the simplicity of our forms of conveyance have greatly facilitated the change of real estate from one proprietor to another. The consequence of all these causes has been, a great subdivision of the soil, and a great equality of condition; the true basis, most certainly, of a popular government. "If the people," says Harrington, "hold three parts in four of the territory, it is plain there can neither be any single person nor nobility able to dispute the government with them; in this case, therefore, *except force be interposed*, they govern themselves."'

But the whole of these speeches are in an authentic report before the public, and need as little our citations to make them known, as our praise to make them highly thought of. We cannot, however, forbear to gratify our readers, who may not have the volume of the journal of the Convention at hand, with the following beautiful passage from the speech of Mr. Justice Story.

'Gentlemen have argued as if personal rights only were the proper objects of government. But what, I would ask, is life worth, if a man cannot eat in security the bread earned by his

own industry? If he is not permitted to transmit to his children the little inheritance which his affection has destined for their use? What enables us to diffuse education among all the classes of society, but property? Are not our public schools, the distinguishing blessing of our land, sustained by its patronage? I will say no more about the rich and the poor. There is no parallel to be run between them, founded on permanent constitutional distinctions. The rich help the poor, and the poor in turn administer to the rich. In our country, the highest man is not *above* the people; the humblest is not *below* the people. If the rich may be said to have additional protection, they have not additional power. Nor does wealth here form a permanent distinction of families. Those who are wealthy to-day pass to the tomb, and their children divide their estates. Property thus is divided quite as fast as it accumulates. No family can, without its own exertions, stand erect for a long time under our statute of descents and distributions, the only true and legitimate agrarian law. It silently and quietly dissolves the mass heaped up by the toil and diligence of a long life of enterprise and industry. Property is continually changing like the waves of the sea. One wave rises and is soon swallowed up in the vast abyss and seen no more. Another rises, and having reached its destined limits, falls gently away, and is succeeded by yet another, which, in its turn, breaks and dies away silently on the shore. The richest man among us may be brought down to the humblest level; and the child, with scarcely clothes to cover his nakedness, may rise to the highest office in our government. And the poor man, while he rocks his infant on his knees, may justly indulge the consolation, that if he possess talents and virtue, there is no office beyond the reach of his honourable ambition.'

But it is not our design to pass in review the subjects, which were discussed in the Convention. We have made the preceding allusion to the debate on the question of senatorial representation, partly as a preface to a dialogue on the principles of representative government, which has been for some time on our files, but which we have forborne to insert, while the question was in agitation before the Convention, as we do not wish to be held responsible for all the doctrines it contains. Its coincidence, however, with the speeches to which we have alluded, in maintaining the same fundamental principles, has led us to think it might not inaptly follow the notice we have taken of them; and we fear the *gravity* of our Journal, to call it by the kindest name, is a feature for

which it is too well known, not to yield us an excuse for presenting this serious discussion, in a lighter form, than that, in which our opinions are usually submitted to the public.

DIALOGUE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT DE MONTESQUIEU AND DR. FRANKLIN.

It is well known that the fortunate inhabitants of Elysium retain, in some degree at least, the tastes and occupations that belonged to them during their lifetime. We have the authority of Virgil to this point, which is deservedly high in every thing relating to the subject. There is also but too much reason to suppose that some of these distinguished persons are subject, like the most favoured mortals in the sublunary sphere, to the disease of ennui, and are glad to resort to reading and other amusements, in order to carry on the war with vigor against the great enemy, time. It has long been suspected for these reasons, that in making provision for the comfort of the Elysians, the accommodations of books and newspapers had not been overlooked. Having, by rather a singular accident, discovered the local situation of this part of the universe, and had an opportunity of examining it somewhat at leisure, I am able to assure the public that this idea is perfectly correct. The booksellers' shops, the libraries, and the reading rooms, are on a very good footing: and the new publications and journals are received with great regularity from all parts of the world. How this is effected, and whether passengers might not pass by the same conveyances that bring the Gazettes, I did not think it necessary to inquire, the rather as captain Symmes has kindly undertaken this part of the investigation. The Elysians, therefore, are constantly informed of the progress of events above: and those who during their lives were engaged in literary or scientific pursuits, find a very agreeable resource, when time hangs heavy upon their hands, in examining the new publications as they are received, and refreshing their memories in regard to the old, or in comparing their ideas upon these subjects in conversation with each other. I had an opportunity of listening to some of these conversations, and shall set down, for the amusement of the public, the principal heads of a dialogue between President Montesquieu and Doctor Franklin, which occurred in one of the principal reading rooms in

Elysium. I was sitting one day in this place, when the venerable doctor entered: after looking about him a little while with a leisurely air, and examining the newspapers of the day, he took down from its place a volume of Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. He appeared to look into it for the purpose of refreshing his memory, and sometimes laid it down and seemed to meditate upon what he had been reading. While this was going on, the President himself came in. The two illustrious philosophers saluted each other with a great appearance of cordiality and mutual respect; and the conversation was immediately introduced by the following remark of Doctor Franklin:—

FRANKLIN.

Mr. President, I was employed as you entered in reflecting upon the chapter in your celebrated work on law, in which you analyse the British constitution. Notwithstanding the high respect with which I am disposed to receive every thing that proceeded from your pen, I confess that I can hardly agree with you in all your remarks upon this subject.

MONTESQUIEU.

Consider, my dear Doctor, at the time when that chapter was written, a political observer had not all the lights to guide him that are now to be found in the world: or that were at hand even during your lifetime. The great age of revolutions, which was destined to reform the science of government, had not then arrived. We were only beginning to see our way clear a little, by the twilight that was just announcing it. We had not then had the benefit of your example, my dear Doctor, and that of your countrymen, to correct our theories. Although most of my remarks on the British constitution are substantially correct, I should still qualify them considerably, and state some of them in different language, if I were to write them over again.

FRANKLIN.

Among the points susceptible of qualification you would perhaps include the introductory remark, that it is unnecessary to theorise on the forms of government most favourable to liberty, since the problem has been resolved in practice by the British constitution. This conclusion, my dear President, seems to be a little unphilosophical. The most that could be said with propriety on the strength of one example would seem to be that liberty is compatible with

this form of government. No general conclusion can be drawn with safety from a single instance. If the English are free, it may perhaps be in spite of their form of government: and this is even intimated by yourself in another passage of your works, where you observe, that the government of England is a republic masked under the forms of a monarchy. Here you mean to state that the form of this government not only does not represent the substance, but is even contrary to its character: and as the substance in your opinion is liberty, the form is not to be regarded, as the perfect personification of liberty, but only as an accident not incompatible with its existence.

MONTESQUIEU.

Why, Doctor, this was rather a manner of expression and not to be taken quite in earnest. You know my taste for quaint and fantastic forms of language. I merely meant to be understood, that as the English nation furnished one of the most remarkable examples of the enjoyment of practical liberty, the forms in use there must be of great weight in illustrating the theory of the subject. I committed a more substantial error in stating as the principle of English liberty, and of the British constitution, the existence of three distinct powers in the administration, engaged by their nature in perpetual conflicts. Such a state of things could not possibly be permanent; and would produce, while it lasted, nothing but disorder. In fact, it never has existed in England. The establishment of the British constitution dates from the year 1688. Since that period the three branches of government have always acted in perfect harmony, and have rarely exercised even their constitutional veto upon each others proceedings. There is hardly an instance of a law being negatived by the king, or a bill that had passed one of the branches of parliament being thrown out by the other for political reasons. This harmony is the principal cause of the stability of the British constitution and its great excellence, as the irregular manner in which it provides for the distribution of property is its great defect. Without this harmony the constitution would not exist in tranquillity a moment; nor exist at all for any length of time. You see I am ready to acknowledge my errors where I have obtained new light. In considering a necessary dis-

cord of its principal component parts as the essential ingredient and great excellence of the British constitution, I made a two-fold mistake; first, in supposing a state of facts directly contrary to the reality, and secondly, as was very natural, in accounting for my false facts upon false principles.

FRANKLIN.

Your candour, my dear President, in admitting these errors does you honour, and I cannot but agree with you in your present opinion. In fact, the reasoning in your work upon this subject, though acute and ingenious, was never to my mind quite satisfactory. You observe that of the three conflicting powers each by its nature checks the others and annuls their operations, that the natural result would be inaction, or the stoppage of the political machine, but that the machine must go on by the necessary movement of things and that therefore the parts must go in concert. At best this reasoning is too figurative to serve any other purpose than that of illustration; nor does it seem to be correct in substance. It would perhaps be hard to shew that things whose operations contradict each other must therefore by the necessary movement of nature go on in concert, or that there exists any necessity which would force a machine constructed of such elements to go on at all. The action of conflicting elements upon each other tends to mutual destruction; and this would be the case here. If the elements of a government are really conflicting in their nature, it must be because they represent great and opposite interests, existing in the nation, and of which they are the organs. Will the opposition of these interests be neutralized by bringing them immediately into each others presence, and giving them an opportunity of coming to battle? It is obvious that a state in which there exists such a clashing of interest can never be tranquil under any form of administration; and one which brought the parties into immediate contact would inflame their animosities, instead of appeasing them.

MONTESQUIEU.

Since then we are agreed that the principle of the British constitution does not lie in the balance of three conflicting powers, as is commonly thought, in what do you suppose it to consist?

FRANKLIN.

It would be impossible, my dear President, to define it with more exactness and precision, than you have done yourself in the short passage I have already quoted from the earliest, and I say it without disparagement to your later and graver productions, the best of your works. The British government is a republic, disguised under the form of a monarchy. It is the essential principle of this government that the sovereign power, which is exercised ostensibly by king, lords and commons, is possessed in reality by the third of these branches, which is the representation of the people.

MONTESQUIEU.

Do you conceive then that the king and the house of peers have no influence in the government?

FRANKLIN.

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to distinguish between their influence as the possessors of hereditary titles, and their influence as great proprietors. In the latter point of view their weight is very considerable, since their possessions are very large. In the former, whether they are regarded as an order of nobles, or an hereditary magistracy, their influence is altogether null. Considered as an order of nobles, they have no exclusive privileges worth mentioning, either positive or negative. When viewed as an hereditary magistracy composed of the king, who must be regarded as a member of the aristocracy, and the house of peers, their influence, though ostensibly greater, is in substance equally unimportant. The personal nullity of the king has long been formally recognised in principle. To say that the king can do no wrong is as much as to say that the king can do nothing. The institution of the royal office on this footing is only a mode of regulating the appointment of the actual executive officers, called the ministers. It is a mode which certainly has its advantages, as well as its mischiefs, but upon the whole, is not perhaps the best that could be hit upon. The king, however, in his nominations is only an indirect organ of the house of commons, and has no personal voice. It is easy to see that the house of lords is a mere pageant, or at most another house of commons quite inferior in importance to the first.

But in every country effective power is attached to the possession of property. Where property is very equally

divided among the members of a society, political power is also equally divided, and the government is in substance democratic. Where property is very unequally divided, and a great proportion of it centers in a few hands, the political power is divided in the same way, and the government is aristocratic. In England, property is not so unequally divided as in some countries, although much more so than in others. As far however as there may be said to exist a real aristocracy, it coincides to a considerable degree with the nominal one; since the hereditary nobles are among the largest proprietors in the kingdom. There are some countries however, in which the coincidence is much more complete. The whole property of the vast empire of Russia belongs to a small class of hereditary nobles, who also exercise the political power. Let this property be transferred to other hands, and how long do you think these emperors, barons, and boyars would retain their present influence abroad or at home? In Austria the state of circumstances is nearly the same.

It would seem therefore, Mr. President, that in attributing the establishment of hereditary ranks, titles, and magistracies to the necessity of protecting certain individuals distinguished by birth, wealth and honours, from the jealousy of the people, you have exactly inverted the natural order of causes and effects. Wealth is the real essence of aristocracy, and itself affords security to rank and titles. It is clear therefore, that rank and titles could not have been established for the purpose of protecting wealth.

MONTESQUIEU.

True, Doctor, the rank and titles are only the formal expression of the real state of things that constitutes aristocracy, which is the concentration of large estates in a few hands, and the connexion of political power with the possession of them. To what then do you attribute the existence of this phenomenon? Do you regard it as a voluntary institution, or as a necessary consequence of the progress of society?

FRANKLIN.

I have already observed, that property is the principal element of political power, and the one by means of which all the other elements must produce their effect. It is impossible that power can exist in any other hands than in

those of the proprietors. With such a distribution of property for example, as now exists in Russia, it is not in the nature of things that the government should be other than it is. The names and titles under which the power is exercised, though sometimes mistaken for the substantial tenure by which it is possessed, are in fact of no importance whatever. They are mere accessories, which naturally accompany the principal. With regard to the origin of aristocracy therefore, the only question of importance is, whence arose in most countries the great inequality which we observe in the distribution of property.

This inequality is often attributed to the differences placed by nature between the gifts and talents of different individuals. Of the members of society who live by manual labour, the strongest, the most active, the most industrious, and the most prudent, must in the end become the richest. The varieties of intellect are not less remarkable, and would produce still greater and still more marked varieties of condition. We must, therefore, recur to this difference of natural powers, as being the only original inequality, and therefore of necessity as containing the germ of all future ones. But we are not to suppose that it will therefore under all circumstances, and in every state of society produce the same effects that we observe in the societies now existing, or that it would lead necessarily to any unjust or oppressive institutions. Suppose, for example, a society to exist in a state of civilization similar to that of the European nations, and in which property is pretty equally divided. Such a supposition cannot be treated as chimerical, because it is actually realised in the United States. What then in such a community will be result of the inequalities of natural powers? An individual of superior skill in any of the departments of manual and mechanical labour will become richer than his comrades. What follows? His property is divided among his children; his skill goes to his ablest journeyman and the equality that was broken is restored. An individual of superior intellect acquires a commanding influence, by great achievements in civil or military life, and amasses a large estate. What follows? At his death his estate is divided among his children; his influence passes to his successor in talent, and the equality that was broken is restored. Hence, in order to account for the unjust, oppressive and permanent

inequalities that we see in some countries on this principle of the original variety of corporal and intellectual powers, we must suppose it to operate at an early and less civilized state of society. When a horde of barbarians invade a neighbouring country, they divide the property among them, and reduce the inhabitants to slavery. This is the historical origin of the present division of property in Europe, and if we did not know it to be so in fact, it is the only one that could possibly be imagined. But this is not enough. It is the dictate of nature that all the children should share equally in the property of the father at his decease. By this process the greatest temporary inequality would be gradually mitigated and in no great length of time completely destroyed. It is necessary therefore, in order to produce a permanent inequality, that the unjust and revolting regulation should be established, that gives the whole estate to one of the children. This regulation alone, in any state of society, if strictly enforced, would be capable in the end of creating a great and permanent inequality, because the great estates which cannot be divided may yet accumulate. If, therefore, violence and conquest are the original causes of the great inequality of fortune in modern Europe, the feudal law of primogeniture was the means of fastening it on society. Without this law it must have long since disappeared, and with this law it would soon return were it in any way abolished in fact.

MONTESQUIEU.

Since this aristocratic inequality of fortune exists in England, is not there in reality the conflict of interest between different portions of society supposed in my remarks on the British Constitution?

FRANKLIN.

Pardon me, my dear President; the conflict you suppose is between the different branches which make up the formal administration of the government, and which, as we have seen, have always acted together in perfect harmony, being in fact only so many different representations of the same interest, and moved by the same spirit; having, like the pipes of an organ, a little variety in tone, but being essentially in harmony. If your idea of a conflict of interest were founded upon the relation between the proprietors and the labourers, then the two branches ought on the contrary

to represent these different classes. Supposing then that there is an opposition of interest between these classes, the conflict is not between different branches of the government, but between that part of the nation represented by the government, and another part not represented by it, and having no share in it. The conflict therefore would be a civil war. But the truth is, there is no such opposition of interest between the classes of proprietors and labourers. Their interest, instead of being separate, is the same, and their intercourse is a mutual interchange of good offices. The labourer sees nothing in the proprietor but a munificent benefactor, who affords him the means of life and enjoyment. The proprietor, on the other hand, sees in the labourer a useful assistant in enabling him to take advantage of his wealth and to gratify his wishes. Neither rich nor poor have the disposition to recur at every turn to the original principles of the distributions of property. The natural conflict therefore is not between these classes, but between different portions of the proprietors, whose accidental interests may happen to cross and who go up to battle against each other, each attended by his own clients.

To recur then to the point from which we started, I should consider the British government, though in form a monarchy, as in substance a republic, because the effective power belongs in reality to the commons or representation of the people, and as an aristocratic republic, or one in which there is a great established inequality in the distribution of property, in distinction from democratic republics, in which property is very equally divided. Of the latter class is the government of the United States. France, though in form a monarchy, is also in substance a democratic republic. From the recency of its institutions however, the substance has not yet completely obtained dominion over the form. In France the effective power belongs to the deputies, which makes it a republic, and property is very equally divided, which makes it democratic. Every thing however is yet in a state of revolution. The leading principles of the administration of government and of the division of property are daily called in question: and it would be idle to predict with confidence today, what will be the state of things tomorrow. I speak of things as they now exist.

MONTESQUIEU.

What do you conceive to be in practice the principal difference between an aristocratic and a democratic republic: or in other words, what is the effect upon the public welfare respectively, of an equal and an unequal division of property?

FRANKLIN.

The welfare of the individuals that compose a society consists in having within their reach the means of enjoyment. and in being protected in the possession of them by the government. In both these particulars it is evident to me that the advantage is greatly in favour of a general equality and mediocrity of fortune, because it is by these that the means of happiness are placed within the reach of the greatest proportion of the members of a society of any given extent. An absolute equality is neither possible nor desirable; but where an artificial inequality is not introduced and supported by law; where on the contrary it is the regular operation of the law to resolve all the accumulations of wealth that result from superior talents and industry, the largest proprietors will not be removed above the necessity or above the habit of devoting their time and thoughts to useful objects, and the lower orders of society will be higher in the social scale and consequently more respectable. The happiness of both classes will be promoted. By the unequal distribution of property existing in Europe, all the members of society are placed in a false and consequently in an unpleasant position. The happiness of the rich is so far from being augmented by the vast masses of wealth, placed at their disposition, that the immediate and on general principles, the necessary result of their situation is the want of those moral dispositions, which are essential to happiness. With them a healthy and natural development of the intellect is almost impossible. They are either abandoned to sensual excesses, or running wild after vain chimeras of greatness and glory, perhaps to the destruction of every thing within their reach. Meanwhile the existence of the mass of population is rendered more precarious and difficult in proportion to the degree of inequality. In one country they are slaves hardly superior in condition to the brutes; in another, they are reduced to starvation and despair, at every turn in the political machine.

It has been urged by some, as an objection against an equal division of property, that it tends to check population, and by others that it tends to increase it to excess. As these objections contradict each other, they cannot both be true; but supposing the truth of either, it will admit a very satisfactory answer. If a general equality of fortune has a tendency to check population, it is by increasing upon the minds of the lower classes the influence of that moral restraint so much recommended by political economists. On the other hand, by a redundant population considered as an evil, can only be meant an unnatural proportion of that class of society, which is either suffering from actual want, or borders most nearly on this condition, and is exposed to be reduced to it, by the vicissitudes of nature or of politics. But this class is numerically smaller in proportion to the whole number of inhabitants where the equal distribution of property is encouraged, and in fact could hardly exist in such a state of things. The objection therefore, as far as it has a foundation in fact, can only mean, that the tendency of such a system is to produce a general augmentation of numbers in all classes of society. It tends then in any given extent of country, to multiply the number of thinking, and feeling, and happy beings. A strange objection this! This limited extent of country, it may be said, will be sooner saturated with inhabitants. But the same mischief results from any other wise political institution—from every measure that tends to the public welfare—from every act of private virtue. We must therefore encounter this inconvenience, or the government must be administered purposely on false and vicious principles.

I am inclined to think, however, that the apparently contradictory assertions here stated as objections, are both true to a certain extent, and in certain circumstances, and that to the extent in which they are true instead of being objections, they are both recommendations. In a country thinly covered with inhabitants, the principle of an equal division of property among all the children would tend to increase the population; but when the number of inhabitants had arrived to such a height as not to admit advantageously the greatest possible augmentation, the same principle would tend to keep it within bounds, by increasing the influence of prudential consideration on the minds of the community.

An individual with a small fortune, and the expectation of increasing it by temperance and industry, will be more thoughtful for the morrow, than one who has nothing either in possession or expectancy.

Consider now the effect upon society of the principle we are considering, in a political point of view, that is, in regard to the security with which individuals enjoy the means of happiness within their possession. Strange as it may seem, it is sometimes urged that there is more stability in an aristocratic system—in other words, that a general equality of fortune creates a tendency to tumult among the people, and instability in the government. Let us analyse this idea. In every popular commotion, there must be one or more leaders and a mass of followers. What is required for the first character to make it in any degree important or dangerous? a great command of means in the hands of a few individuals. What for the second? a numerous class among the people, of doubtful or desperate fortunes. Into which of the systems we are considering do these elements enter in the greatest proportion? So far is the objection from being true, that the reverse is self-evident upon the slightest consideration.

These conclusions might be strengthened by the history of all the nations in which an aristocratic system has prevailed. We find in all a constant succession of internal tumults, foreign wars and public misery. It would be wrong however to attribute all the miseries, which deform the historical records of the world, merely to these institutions. Tumult and blood-shed are the natural symptoms and fruits of barbarous times. Excessive and artificial inequality of fortune is not so much the origin of these commotions, as another product of the same causes. Hence I have rather established the superior advantages of equality of fortune, by general reasoning, than by appealing to the miseries which attended an opposite system in the ancient republics, and in the feudal states of modern Europe up to the present day. It is nevertheless true, that the internal bitterness resulting from this unjust distinction, tends more than any other cause, to perpetuate the barbarity which first gave rise to it.

MONTESQUIEU.

If then the democratic system of general equality in fortune is so decidedly preferable to the opposite, it would seem to be

the duty of a wise nation, in which the latter exists, to abandon it at once and to introduce the former.

FRANKLIN.

In this respect, my dear President, as in most others, very little can be done to assist the operation of general causes or to expedite their slow and certain results. Societies, like individuals, are machines in the hands of nature, and the only sure and safe reformer is time. Where a constituted aristocracy really exists, it is natural and necessary that it should exercise the political power. The horse would as soon think of riding the man, as the Russian peasant undertake to govern his lord. Before this state of things can change, a spirit of improvement must grow up among the rich, and must shew itself in efforts to effect a gradual amelioration in the condition of the poor. Their industry must be encouraged, and they must be allowed to have a property in the fruits of it. By this means the poorer classes will gradually acquire a degree of consistency and importance in the state. When this course of improvement has commenced, the revolution has begun, and, if favoured by circumstances, will continue in a gradual and regular progress to its final consummation in a general equality of property, and consequently of political power. The attempts that may be made by individuals to hasten or to impede this progress are quite as likely to counteract as to assist the views of their authors. They are generally the result of passions, and therefore probably ill-contrived: or if predicated on principles, the principle supposed is as likely to be false as true, for practical politicians are not in general remarkable for the correctness of their views on the theory of government. When the preponderance of property has passed from the aristocracy to the people, the revolution is in substance accomplished. The people have then in reality the greater share of political power. It will depend upon accident whether in the farther progress of events the form of aristocracy disappears entirely, or whether it is preserved in the state as a nominal institution, as it has been in England and France. It would seem, however, that after the substance has passed away from it, the form itself must gradually cease to be valued, and finally disappear. Any attempt that may be made, and at the present moment such an attempt seems to be making in France, to give the formal aristocracy, possessing an

inferior portion of the property, a superior share of the power, can only end in reaction. At what period in this course of improvement representative assemblies shall be introduced—at what period the magistrates shall cease to be hereditary, are points of immaterial importance. The essential point is the general diffusion of property, and with it of education, security, and happiness among all classes. The introduction of representative assemblies and of elective magistrates is an indication that such a state of things exists. These are its natural effects, because they are conformable to reason and therefore must eventually find their place in a system founded on that basis. Where the substance exists, the form will not long be wanting, and in the meantime where the substance is enjoyed, the absence of the form will not be much felt.

MONTESQUIEU.

It seems to be one of the delicate points in a representative government to determine the mode in which the delegates of the people shall be chosen, and there is hardly any one, in regard to which there is less uniformity among the different governments organized on this system. In the United States all the citizens of legal age paying the smallest tax, and even in most of the states without this qualification, are admitted to vote in all the elections. In Spain, according to the new constitution, the right of suffrage is equally extensive. In France it is restricted to a very small number of citizens, designated according to general principles of qualification. In Great Britain it is also much restricted, but is exercised in different places on different principles, and is treated as a personal property instead of a political right. The new constitutions in Germany are arranged in part on the same principle. In Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, the representatives are elected by a direct choice. In France the same principle exists under the present law, but according to the law proposed the choice is to be made at two degrees. It is made at two degrees in the Netherlands, and at three in Spain. The qualifications of the deputies and the times for which they are chosen are equally various in different countries. Among the vast multitude of actual or possible forms it must be not a little embarrassing for a law-giver to determine which is best in itself or best suited to the circumstances of his nation.

FRANKLIN.

If the value of a representative government, my dear President, depended upon a correct choice from among this multitude of forms, or upon the success of an artificial combination of them according to particular local and political circumstances, its utility would be extremely questionable. No hope could be entertained of arriving at any considerable degree of exactness in such calculations. The truth is, that where the representative principle is introduced, the form in which the elections are made is altogether indifferent. The result will be the same, whether they are made by a small or a large proportion of the citizens, by the rich or the poor, on the same or on various principles, at one degree, at two, or at three. The same individuals will in fact be designated by all these different methods. The number of persons to whom the confidence of the public attaches itself is not very great: and every form of election that can be indicated is only another mode of proclaiming them. What form of election, for example, would have failed to place Pitt and Fox at the head of their respective parties in parliament during the controversies of the French revolution? The formal influence given to property is unimportant. Property has not the less weight in reality for being without it in form. What matters it to the rich man whether he is by the law the only voter in his country, or whether his tenants and his labourers have the same privilege? In one case he expresses his opinion by a single vote—in the other by two or three hundred.

The number of the deliberative bodies is equally unimportant with the details of their composition, although a point which is regarded by some as of the first consequence. It is a very commonly received notion that the legislature must be divided into two branches, or the state will certainly go to ruin. This notion is a part of the chimerical system of mixed government. The legislative power, according to this system, must consist of two parts, in order to form with the executive the balance upon which the public safety is supposed to depend. But we have seen already that the supposed balance is chimerical in theory and impossible in practice, and that there is no appearance of it in England, which has been quoted as the most remarkable instance in which it has been carried into effect. This consequence of the necessity of a double legislature of course falls of itself; nor is it easy

to discover any advantage in submitting the same propositions to the consideration of two or more deliberate bodies in succession, representing the same interests and composed of the same materials. It would seem, therefore, that where an entirely new constitution is to be organized, the plan of a single legislative body is preferable. This has been adopted in Spain, and I should consider it a real advantage, although some of the best friends of Spanish liberty, Mr. de Pradt, for example, have denounced this provision as a radical and fatal fault, and have predicted the ruin of the country as the consequence of it, unless it should be corrected in season.

MONTESQUIEU.

In the United States, however, the constitutions both of the general government and of the individual states are, I believe, without exception, organized upon the principle of a double legislative body; and yet this was a country in which the political constitutions were entirely of new construction, and in which there was no existing aristocracy to plead the right of prescription: and my worthy friend Dr. Franklin had, I believe, no inconsiderable share in the direction of the public councils.

FRANKLIN.

In the United States, the introduction of legislatures consisting of two branches was in part a homage to the existing forms of government established before the revolution, and which then had an important meaning. The assembly then represented the people of the provinces, and the council assisted the governor in exercising the authority of the mother country. Having succeeded in securing the reality of independence, it was thought expedient that as little innovation as possible should be made in the forms of legislation and administration. And this was no doubt judicious. Other reasons, however, of a more questionable character had their influence in producing this effect. Many of our leading statesmen entertained the common notion that a free government can only be maintained by a perpetual intestine conflict of its constituent parts, and they thought it absolutely necessary to organize in every state the materials for such a conflict. Had the sentiments of the people authorized them to act up to the extent of their own ideas, they would perhaps have introduced an hereditary magistracy as the most suitable element to compose one of the parties to this struggle. This measure

was known to be entirely repugnant to general notions, and was never proposed; although it is understood that it was honestly considered in private by some of the leading men as the most expedient course. To make, however, at least some approach to the desirable object of an organized civil war, it was concluded to institute a second popular branch, chosen in a manner somewhat different from the first, and supposed to be superior to it in dignity. Fortunately the force of circumstances has counteracted the mischief that might have resulted from this measure. The second representation as well as the first has proved in practice to be an entirely popular body, and no appearance has been exhibited of this conflict of interests, which had it really occurred, as the authors of the plan predicted, might have been the ruin of the republic. The only inconvenience attending the double legislatures in the United States is, that they are an expensive and inconvenient manner of preventing precipitate decisions, an object that might be effected to the same extent by any simple regulation of the manner of debating.

The senate of the United States stands on somewhat different ground. As the sovereignty of the several states has been retained for certain purposes, it seems not improper that they should have some share in legislation in this capacity, and of course on a footing of equality. Hitherto, however, no important consequence has resulted from the existence of the senate regarded in this point of view.

As to the part taken by myself in the institution of these governments, that of Pennsylvania, in the formation of which I had the principal share, was organized at first on the plan of a single representative body. The state has since yielded to a spirit of imitation and adopted a senate, in order to be in the fashion. The new states, which have since been admitted, have universally followed in this respect the example of their predecessors.

To return, however, to the British constitution; allow me, Mr. President, to take this opportunity of asking for an explanation of a passage in your remarks upon this subject, in which you state the probable cause of its ultimate destruction. You say that as Rome, Sparta, and Carthage have fallen, England will also lose her liberties and perish; and that this will happen, when the legislative power shall become more corrupt than the executive. If you mean to predict

that the executive power may be able at some future period to make use of the legislative, to serve its corrupt views and thus deprive the people of their liberties, the state of things would seem to be exactly the reverse of what you suppose, since the executive power would be more corrupt than the legislative, the seducer being generally regarded as more corrupt than the seduced.

MONTESQUIEU.

I did not intend in this phrase to apply the word *corrupt* to the moral character of the persons exercising these powers respectively, but to the essential principle of the powers themselves, and the remark must be taken in connexion with the theory of which it forms a part, that the healthy action of the British constitution depends upon the preservation of a steady balance between the executive and legislative powers. Now the ability of these powers to perform the functions belonging to them depends principally on the situation of the society, and not on the personal qualities of the individuals that exercise them. If by a change of circumstances the principle of the legislative power is corrupted, and it is no longer able to exercise its functions vigorously, while on the other hand the principle of the executive power has been invigorated, the supposed balance will be lost, without any regard to the moral character of the person in office or in parliament. It has long been imagined by a great part of the British statesmen, that this was the principal danger to which the liberties of England were exposed. The cry has long been a popular one, that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished. I am satisfied, however, that this supposed balance is a vain imagination, and of course that there is no danger to be apprehended of the destruction of a thing which never existed. Since the whole effective power resides in the popular body, its relative importance cannot have been diminished; and as the other co-ordinate branches of government are distinct powers rather in form than in reality, any apparent increase in their influence is in fact only an increase in the general attributions of the government, resulting from an increased action of the society in its political capacity.

FRANKLIN.

This, my dear President, appears to me the correct opinion. How can the influence of the crown have increased

and be increasing, when it is now and always has been null? In this respect, therefore, the constitution requires no reform: nor is there much more consistency in the popular cry for reform in the house of commons. The composition of the house of commons is irregular, but it represents with sufficient fairness the property of the country, which is itself a pretty fair representation of all the interests affected by legislation. I have remarked before, that the forms of elections are in a great measure indifferent: and the manner in which the house is composed is well calculated to bring into it a great share of talent and instruction. The demand for reform proceeds from two descriptions of persons. With one it is merely the cry of distress for bread. With the other it means a few slight alterations in the mode of administration, which would not affect in a sensible degree the principles or the operations of the government. The principal defect of the British constitution appears to me to consist in the unjust principles upon which it provides for the distribution of property. If landed estates were placed on a level in this respect with other descriptions of property, a blow would be struck at the root of the great inequality of fortunes which would then disappear by a gentle and gradual process; and by the same means a steady and growing relief would be applied to the diseased state of the population, since the country would then be enabled to support a greater number of inhabitants. If in addition to this, the various laws now in force prohibiting and restraining industry and commerce in so many ways, were prudently and gradually repealed, so that a healthy and natural relation might grow up between the demand for labour and its supply, every thing would have been done, which is in the power of legislation, to restore the country to its former tranquillity and prosperity. It would be necessary after this that the expenses of the government or the taxes paid by the people should be in proportion to those paid by other nations, or else the capital of the country would soon be transferred to places where it would be employed to greater advantage; and in this point lies the principal difficulty of the present situation of England. Whether we attribute the political measures of the last thirty years to mal-administration or to an unfortunate necessity, it is certain that they have left Great Britain loaded with debt, as well as covered with what is called glory. The

interest at least must be paid. This is already an enormous charge on the industry of the country. As this evil is common in nearly the same extent to most of the other European nations, the effect is so far neutralised. But in addition to this, the political importance of the country must be maintained; a little island must continue to be the arbiter of the world. Extensive fleets and armies must be kept up, expensive civil and military establishments must be supported in a thousand colonies all over the globe, which return no profit to the nation. The balance of power must be regulated in Europe at the cost of long, frequent, bloody and ruinous wars. Could not the safety of the inhabitants of the British isles from foreign invasion and their happiness as far as it depends on civil institutions be secured at a cheaper rate? Of this their wise men must judge. If not, their danger results from their unfortunate situation, from the great disproportion between their necessary expenses, and the number of people that bear the burthen of them.

Meanwhile my countrymen in the west are prosecuting their march in the career of national existence, blessed with liberty in its purest form, unincumbered with debt, an unlimited territory at command, and with all the enterprise of character and extent of information necessary to enable them to improve these advantages to the greatest possible degree. May they long continue to seek no other glory than that of being the happiest and consequently the wisest of nations. Safe from foreign violence behind the mighty wall of waters, which the blessing of providence has interposed for their defence between them and Europe, may they abjure forever the fatal passion of being feared and hated through the world. May their political efforts be solely intended to secure their own rights and to establish the custom of peace.

> Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
> Hae tibi erunt artes, PACISQUE IMPONERE MOREM.

June 1820.

ART. XX.—*Le Trône Enchanté, Conte Indien traduit du Persan, par M. le Baron Lescallier.* New York, 1817.

A POEM previously unknown in Europe or America, translated from the Persian and published in one of our own cities, is a phenomenon, we presume, without a parallel among us. It

is principally this, which has led us to notice the work before us. The merit, which our country can claim for its appearance, stops with the simple fact of its having been printed at New York. Baron Lescallier was the late consul general of the French government, in that city. It appears from the preface to the work, that he had passed some years in India in the service of his government. Having pursued the study of the Persian language while in the East on account of its usefulness to him in the functions of his office, he continued the study, on his return to Paris, for the sake of examining the oriental manuscripts in the king's library. Among others, this story attracted his attention, as interesting to the European reader, in his opinion; and he informs us in a preface of very bad English, that he employed himself many years in translating it. The work, as we have it in French, was published by subscription, in numbers at New York, and an edition in English was projected at the same time, which failed.

We certainly agree with the baron, that it is interesting in one sense to read the translation of a book of this kind. It is *not* interesting or attractive as a skilfully wrought fiction, as containing exalted sentiments, or fine language. But as undoubtedly authentic, it shares the importance of any other genuine acquisition from remote ages or distant countries. A coin from Marathon or an armlet from Pompeii has an interest to us far beyond its intrinsic value; and a set of tales like these, descriptive of the manners of a perfectly distinct portion of mankind, is read with a curiosity far beyond the measure of its literary execution. We do not therefore think the course adopted by M. Lescallier very judicious. 'He has,' it seems, 'suppressed needless and unmeaning passages, and in some cases corrected, reformed and improved the text.' This would have been very well, had the whole been intended to be adapted to western taste in the manner of the Arabian tales. But as it was not the object of the translator to remodel the story, but to present a specimen of oriental manners, any alterations of the kind alluded to render our reliance on its delineations of Eastern manners less confident. Exactly in so far as this has been done, and it is not easy from the internal evidence to tell how far, the value of the whole is diminished. It is like smoothing from a cast of an antique the seams of the mould, which

prove it not to have been tampered with; it may look neater, but has lost part of its value. There still, however, remains enough of orientalism in the *Enchanted Throne*, to render it very tedious to any one accustomed to the connexion and unity of our works of fiction. It is moreover this inherent dullness in most of the oriental works of imagination, with which we have any acquaintance, which seems to us one of the true grounds why the languages in which they are written are not more studied by men of letters.

It has always appeared to us that most of the reasons given by Sir William Jones, for the neglect of the study of Asiatic literature, are quite too general, and such as would apply equally well to every other valuable pursuit, excepting of course the reason derived from the difference of religion between the great families of the East and West.

'Some men,' says he, 'never heard of the Asiatic writings, and others will not be convinced there is any thing valuable in them; some pretend to be busy and others are really idle; some detest the Persians, because they believe in Mahomed, and others despise their language, because they do not understand it. We all love to excuse or conceal our ignorance, and are seldom willing to allow any excellence beyond our own attainments,' &c.

It is to be feared that the *pride*, *content*, and *indolence* produced by ignorance, which Sir William assigns as the causes of the neglect of these languages, do not confine themselves to preventing the study of the literature of the East. Nor is it a very good reason for this neglect, that some men 'never heard of the Asiatic writings,' more than it would be philosophical to account for the inferiority of the Roman navies to ours, by saying that we build larger ships and organize a better marine.

Not however to go into this dispute, we do not know that the curiosity of our countrymen will be much excited to the study of Persian, by the specimen we are about to set before them, or that they will think the vast labour, which M. Lescallier declares he has employed upon it for many years, very well bestowed. 'On y trouve,' says the baron, 'les maximes de la morale la plus parfaite, applicables surtout à la conduite des souverains envers leurs sujets.' Whatever may be the morality of oriental or European princes, it is to be doubted if our American presidents will profit greatly by the example

of a prince, who employs himself so frequently at a distance from his cabinet and capital, in achieving the love adventures of his less intrepid subjects, by leaping into caldrons of heated oil and lakes of burning water. pp. 52, 103. Mr. Maturin, in his last romance, has adopted one method of introducing the stories which are contained in his collection, which has at least the merit of originality; that of assembling a physician's cabinet of skeletons around a table, to have their histories related. The Persian novelist is less singular. It appears from him that in the olden time, which the translator fixes at our era, there flourished a prince of such wonderful virtue that it was determined in the councils of the genii to reward his great qualities. The prize fixed on, something on the principle of Pope's 'apples and cakes,' was, it seems, a magnificent throne. This was accordingly manufactured, presented, and occupied. When the Rajah, however, whose virtues were thus immortalized, died, his successors, being unworthy of the divine gift, the throne was, by the order of the great genius Aïnder, safely buried, till a prince worthy of the illustrious Bekermadjiet should appear. Under ground therefore the throne remained for a series of centuries, and might in process of time have served for a new theory to some wondering geogonist, when fortunately for all parties a Rajah of great promise appears and the throne is discovered. He is not however allowed to sit upon it, till the thirty-two guardian genii have related to him an anecdote of its former possessor. These, with some fragments of different subjects form the book, which the baron has translated. We have extracted the following, as having as much *mannerism* as most of these stories. It seems it was the object of the Rajah to cause a princess, who kept obstinate silence, to speak four times. An attendant genius conceals himself in a lamp:

'Békermadjiet converse avec la lampe de la reine, et lui raconte une histoire, à laquelle la lampe fait une observation, et une réponse qui fait rompre pour la première fois le silence à la reine.

'Le Rajah Békermadjiet se tourna d'abord du côté de la lampe, et lui adressa la parole en ces termes: oh, lampe! Il y a bien des jours que je suis arrivé dans cette ville, venant de très loin; je n'y ai fait aucune connoissance, je n'ai formé de liaison avec qui que ce soit, à qui je puisse confier mes peines, ou mes espérances. Votre Reine ne fait aucune attention à moi, et ne daigne pas me parler.

‘Vous étiez parfaitement heureux, lui répondit la lampe, vos jours se passoient dans la plus agréable satisfaction. Qu'êtes vous venu faire parmi nous? Quel motif a pu vous engager à quitter votre capitale d'Aotchine, et votre royaume pour venir dans cette ville, où commande une Reine du plus méchant caractère? Aucun Prince ne peut vous être comparé pour la bravoure, et la génerosité: et jamais dans le monde on ne verra naitre votre pareil. Vous êtes ici malheureux et délaissé; n'avez vous pas chez vous un nombre de femmes aumoins aussi belles que cette reine, et bien plus aimables? Que pouviez vous espérer de trouver ici, que vous n'eussiez pû vous procurer chez vous tout aussi bien, et même avec avantage?

‘Békermadjiet feignit un grand étonnement, en entendant ces paroles, et demanda d'où elle provenoient. La même voix lui répondit; j'étois de la vase dans le fond d'un étang; un ouvrier ayant creusé un puit, et après m'avoir bien lavée et paitrie dans l'eau, me battit à coups de maillet, si fortement, que mes os furent brisés et réduits en pâte. En cet état il me façonna, me passa au tour, et me polit; enfin il me réduisit à n'avoir plus aucune force, ni même le sentiment de mon existence, en me faisant cuire dans un four. Alors le scélérat me perça les yeux, et fit de moi une lampe, en garnissant mes yeux de mêches et remplissant mon corps d'huile, dans l'état ou vous me voyez, servant de luminaire dans cet apartement. Je n'ai pas la faculté de tenir une plus longue conversation avec vous: je ne puis que vous entendre, si vous daignez avoir pour moi quelque complaisance: si vous avez quelque pitié pour ma triste situation, racontez moi une histoire agréable et amusante: j'aurai beaucoup de plaisir à vous écouter, et cela me fera passer avec satisfaction une partie cette nuit.

‘Ecoutez, oh lampe! dit le Rajah Békermadjiet. On rapporte que dans la ville de Caboul, il y avoit jadis un marchand, qui, avec d'immenses richesses, possédoit une très belle fille, dont les charmes et la beauté étoient supérieurs à toutes les autres, et au dessus de toute description: elle ravissoit tous les cœurs, et la renommée de son rare mérite s'étoit tellement répandue dans tout le païs, que les hommes les plus puissans et les plus considérables ambitionnoient de l'obtenir pour épouse. Son père avoit déclaré qu'il ne l'accorderoit qu'à celui des prétendans qui auroit une profession utile, dans laquelle il feroit preuve de la perfection et de la supériorité les plus décidées.

‘Il y avoit dans cette ville trois jeunes gens bien élevés, doués de talens et d'instruction, adroits, aimables et pleins d'esprit, et d'adresse. Ils se mirent sur les rangs, et firent savoir leur intention par un messager au père de la Demoiselle, en lui annonçant quels étoient leurs professions, et leurs talens respectifs. L'un

d'eux annonça que son état étoit celui d'orateur, et qu'à l'éloquence et au talent de la parole, il joignit l'art de deviner. au point que tout ce qui arrivoit dans le monde de bien ou de mal, lui étoit à l'instant dévoilé. Le second se donna pour avoir l'industrie de fabriquer un cheval de bois, avec une vertu magique et talismanique, telle que celui qui le monteroit, pourroit parcourir en un seul jour une étendue de chemin, que l'on ne pourroit faire en moins d'un mois par les moyens ordinaires de voyager : et de plus qu'il pourroit revenir chez lui dans le même jour. Le troisième se présenta comme un excellent arquebusier et tireur de flêches : il prétendit que son adresse étoit telle, que jamais il ne manquoit son coup, et que toujours la flêche qu'il lançoit atteignoit le but.

'Le marchand fit part à sa fille des propositions, et des différens talens des trois jeunes gens qui prétendoient à sa main : elle demanda jusqu'au lendemain pour faire connoitre sa réponse.

'Dans la nuit suivante, sans que l'on sut comment, la Demoiselle disparut de la maison paternelle. La nouvelle se répandit le lendemain matin dans la ville, et y causa une grande sensation. Malgré toutes les recherches, on ne put savoir ce que la fille du marchand étoit devenue. Le père désolé de ce coup imprévu, fut d'abord trouver celui des trois prétendans qui avoit l'art de deviner : il lui dit : ma fille a disparu de chez moi cette nuit : puisque tous les évènemens vous sont connus, apprenez moi ce qu'elle est devenue.

'Le jeune homme, après avoir réfléchi quelques instans, repondit au père : un magicien a enlevé votre fille ; il la tient enfermée dans un château fort, placé sur le sommet d'une montagne inaccessible á tout mortel. Il lui indiqua en même tems de quel côté et à quelle distance étoit située cette montagne.

'Muni de cette information, le marchand se rendit chez le second jeune homme, et lui dit : voici le moment de fabriquer votre cheval talismanique ; nous y ferons monter le tireur de flêches, afin qu'il se rende au château fort qui recèle ma fille, sur une montagne escarpée dont je lui indiquerai la direction, où étant parvenu, il tuera le magicien ravisseur de ma fille, et me la ramènera.

'Le jeune homme se mit tout de suite á l'ouvrage, et fabriqua le cheval merveilleux ; le tireur de flêches le monta, et arriva au château fort, tua le magicien, et ramena la fille du marchand.

'Il s'éleva ensuite une violente discussion entre les trois prétendans, chacun d'eux réclamant la possession de la Demoiselle. C'est moi qui dois l'obtenir, dit le premier, parce que j'ai fait connoitre en quel endroit elle étoit retenue et cachée, et que sans moi on n'auroit pû la revoir. Le fabricateur du cheval talismanique soutint que son droit étoit préférable à celui des deux autres,

parceque, sans le cheval qu'il avoit fabriqué et fourni, on n'auroit jamais pu ramener la Demoiselle. Le tireur de fléches, enfin, dit aux autres : Vos prétentions sont mal fondées ; c'est à moi qu'appartient le droit d'épouser la Demoiselle. N'est-ce pas moi qui ai tué le magicien qui la retenoit, et n'est-ce pas moi qui l'ai reconduite à son père.

'A cet endroit de sa narration, le Rajah Békermadjiet demanda à la lampe : à qui penses-tu que la Demoiselle doive être adjugée ? La lampe, pour contrarier la Reine, dont l'humeur étoit connue, dit : la Demoiselle doit être donnée en mariage à celui qui a indiqué le lieu de sa retraite.

'La Reine, à ces paroles, se mit en colère, et s'écria : scélérat, vagabond ! Lorsque tu te permets de mentir aussi impudemment, et de donner une aussi sotte décision en ma présence, comment puis-je le souffrir ? Ignorant que tu es, n'est il pas évident qu'aucun des prétendans n'a mérité la main de la Demoiselle, autant que le tireur de flêches, qui, pour la ramener, a payé de sa personne, et exposé sa vie ?

'Le Rajah Békermadjiet, bien satisfait de cette sortie de la Reine, se contenta de dire : la reine a parlé une fois : lampe, je réclamerai votre témoignage.' pp. 188—194.

There are some useful notes interspersed. Among them the following mention of the Parias, which seems sufficiently probable, but which we should hardly forgive, if it should weaken our interest in St. Pierre's lovely 'cottage.'

'But it is a mistake to suppose that the Choutras, Soudras, or Parias, the inferior cast are as vile and contemptible as most Europeans are accustomed to suppose, led by the description of many writers, as the abbé Raynal. The Parias form the great number of the mass of the people. They exercise the mechanical arts, which are useful and necessary to society, though not ennobling. Many Parias are rich, having acquired wealth by commerce. A Bramin told me of a Paria who had written a very valuable treatise of morals, whose name I happen to have forgotten.' p. 62.

ART. XX.—*Essai sur l'Indifférence en matière de Religion ; par M. L'Abbé F. de la Mennais.* Tome Premier, pp. 562. Quatrième edition. Paris, 1818.

NOTHING has been published in France upon the subject of religion, since it was decreed, that God might exist, and the soul be immortal, which has attracted so much attention

as this essay of the Abbé de la Mennais. We quote our extracts from the *fourth* edition; wonderful success for a book on religion printed in Paris. We have seen the opinion expressed that the writer is without a rival since the time of Bossuet. He has evidently taken this great man for his model; and is worthy to study in such a school. So far as his own strong and inquisitive mind would permit, he seems to have come into possession of the opinions of the bishop of Meaux, as of a legacy, and to have taken their sum total; not excepting his vehement opposition to protestantism in every shape, and his ardent attachment to such a modified papacy, as can consist with the liberties of the Gallican church. Indeed his reverence is rather for antiquity in the mass, than for the Roman sovereign of the catholic religion; although he has enough of this to induce every protestant to examine well the several links in his chain of argument.

But the title of his essay shows sufficiently that he does not consider the controversy now to exist in its ancient form; that it is no longer a dispute what is to be our mode of belief, but whether we will have any; not with bigotted attachment to one sect, but with indifference to all. Toleration may subsist with a firm persuasion that we are ourselves in the right, and zeal subsist together with knowledge; but the conjunction is probably less frequent than we imagine. It is not even reasonable to censure the spirit of proselytism, when it does not show itself in an obnoxious shape: for if we believe that we possess a rich treasure, we may, in all charity, be willing to better the condition of others by imparting it; and truth, like fire, is common property.

Among all the questions, which are presented to the mind of an intelligent observer of the state of Europe, no one is more difficult of solution than the probable result of the notions upon the subject of religion, which have floated upon the surface of that troubled continent. While we know that superstition has been disrobed, and violence disarmed; that freedom of religion will be had with constitutional liberty; yet it would require a prophet's eye to discover how soon the christian religion may resume its influence in a new form. '*The great nation*' has acted so powerfully upon all the neighbouring kingdoms, that it occupies a large space in this question.

There are many reflections, which strike us vividly upon opening a new *French* book upon religion; but our intention is much rather to give our author's opinions than our own, and to trace his reasonings, which we think merit to be well canvassed.

He has chosen his ground fairly; and as far as our own knowledge of French society goes, the difficulty for the defender of any religious system is not to vanquish fixed opinions, but to get a hearing. His introduction opens with the remark—'that the age the most diseased is not that which is passionate on the side of error, but that which neglects and disdains the truth: there is strength and consequently hope, where we perceive violent transports; but when all movement is destroyed, when the pulse ceases to beat, what can we expect but an approaching and inevitable dissolution?'

Without announcing in so many words that noble thought of Pascal, that the Creator intended in the union of soul and body, intelligence and matter, in the person of man, to raise his body into a more perfect sympathy with spiritual qualities than we can now imagine, the Abbé takes up the idea and traces the streams of error to this abundant fountain, the servitude into which the body now continually brings the spirit; hence the neglect, says he, of the sciences strictly intellectual, for those merely physical, and hence the disbelief in all revealed religion.

We have no room for an extended examination of his introduction, though it contains many principles of the first moment; but we cannot omit one topic which is not new, but is yet of the highest importance. After shewing into how deep a subjection to mere sense, the heathen nations had fallen before the propagation of christianity, and that the refined Greeks and Romans worshipped cruelty and lust personified, he remarks, that the new system would not have grown naturally in such a soil; and that *at present* we are not fit judges of how much religious truth natural reason can discover.—We have often thought that this point, which is high enough to overlook the whole field in controversy with those who reject revelation, ought to be guarded as an impregnable out-post; for we are convinced that the enemies of christianity enter and draw their great stock of weapons from her celestial armory. If they will tell us that the

bible is unnecessary, and that we know the unity of God, the extent of his providence, the sacredness of moral duties, and the future retribution without it, and therefore infer that we need not go farther into its doctrines, let us deny them their premises and demand examples from among the heathen to prove these reasonable truths;—putting it to the modesty of one or all of them to answer whether they have more of reason in their keeping, than was in the soul of Cicero. If they take Cicero and Seneca as examples, doubtless many of them will be better men than we have seen them, but they will find themselves in dark uncertainty upon many truths, which they now assume as axioms. The Abbé remarks,

'It was necessary that christianity little by little should rectify and elevate the reason of men, and that this same reason should be in a state to combat against it, without dishonoring itself too much by the folly of its sophisms. Celsus, it is true, discussed questions of great importance. We find in the fragments which remain of his writings, in the midst of a crowd of absurd opinions and extravagant thoughts, the seed of objections to the foundations of faith, reproduced with more art by Rousseau. But the extreme superiority of the latter, his high ideas upon God, upon his providence and justice, upon our nature, duties and destiny, which the author of Emilius has mingled with his errors, ideas unknown to the ancients, and purely christian, show what an immense space christianity has caused the human mind to traverse during the ages which separate the first adversaries of our doctrine from the Genevan sophist.' p. 19.

'But whether attacked,' says our author, 'through its professed principles or the vices of false disciples, yet amidst all the removals and ruins of human governments, christianity stands, like those ancient monuments of Egypt, from which the wandering Arab, who in the evening under the shelter of their immoveable mass pitches the tent which he is to remove in the morning, attempts in passing to detach some stones, but becomes speedily fatigued with his fruitless labours, and plunging forward, disappears in the unknown solitudes.'

There is no human work that is perfect, and no man without his errors:—it is well when they fall under the latter head of the general division into great and small. This disciple of Bossuet, in his rage for generalizing, is resolved, if we will not let the French philosophers have all our religion, that we shall come over to his party, and affirms that there is no middle ground between the rejection of the authority of the

church and absolute atheism. 'Lutherans, Socinians, Deists and Atheists,' because they hold this in common that popes and councils are not alone sufficient to command our credence, seem to be held by him in pretty nearly the same esteem, and to flourish together equally in the odour of sanctity. If we needed such caution, this indiscriminate censure is good reason for not swearing ourselves in to any human authority. We will not trouble our readers to show how arguments are good against Rousseau, which do not apply to all but one sect of christians. It is certainly very convenient in dialectics first to prove to the satisfaction of every thinking man that some authority must be submitted to in the matter of religion, and then to define authority after your own fashion. This we consider the prime sophism in our author's reasonings against the prostestants.

Yet if we approve not of every thing in this champion against so great and prevailing an error as indifference to all religion, let us not dismiss those arguments which are excellent in part without any examination; and in kindness let us scarcely count it arrogance in him, who has met the specious objections of infidels with reason and eloquence, that he has been so elated with his success against these Saracens that he could not withhold his arms from our christian borders. The Byzantine capital was not safe in the time of the crusades; the red-cross knights stopped at Cyprus and Constantinople, as well as at the walls of Acre. Hear our author's description of the error he combats.

'Atheism, says Leibnitz, will be the last of heresies; and in effect, the indifference which follows in its train is not a doctrine, since they who are really indifferent deny nothing, affirm nothing—they do not even doubt, for doubt, a state of suspense between contrary probabilities, supposes a previous examination. Theirs is a systematic ignorance, a voluntary sleep of the soul, which wastes its force in resisting its own thoughts and contending against importunate remembrances, a universal swallowing up of all the moral faculties—an absolute privation of ideas upon that which it is most important for man to know. Such is, as far at least as language can represent what offers nothing but what is vague, undecided and negative, such is the hideous and sterile monster, which is called indifference. All the philosophical theories, all the doctrines of impiety have melted and disappeared in this devouring system—the real tomb of intelligence, where she de-

scends alone,—naked—abandoned alike by truth and error,—an empty sepulchre, where not even bones can be perceived.' p. 32.

The first chapter of the essay consists of general considerations upon religious indifference, and sets out with Pascal's great maxim, that 'opinion is the queen of the world.' It is well written, and a great part of its matter may be summed up in the following quotation from M. de Bonald, and the Abbé's comment upon it.

'"I do not fear to advance" says M. de Bonald, "that there is nothing indifferent in nature, law, manners, arts and sciences, and least of all in religion. In every thing there is true and false, good and evil, order and disorder: moral good and evil, philosophical good and evil, political good and evil, literary, oratorical, poetical good and evil, &c." Man, in reality, is only indifferent upon what he is ignorant of, or of what does not exist with respect to him. He is in the relation of love or hatred with every object of his thoughts, and holds to his judgment sometimes more than to life itself. Hence the innate desire to make our opinions prevail, even upon the most frivolous subjects—hence the charm of study, so much the more intense as our intelligence is more cultivated and extended—hence controversies of every kind, upon natural science and upon morals, upon theology and upon grammar—hence sects, and academies, and public quarrels, and theatres, the passions which shake society, and the virtues which preserve it; hence, in fine, that spirit of proselytism, so ridiculously made the cause of reproach to christians, and which is met with wherever any sort of conviction exists, in conversation and in the pulpit, in politics, in literature, in philosophy, and in religion, with this only difference, that in religion it is more durable and more noble, because it contains more truths, and truths more important. Speak to that laborer, occupied in digging the earth, of the laws of attraction which keep it in its orbit; unintelligible to him, your discourse will leave him indifferent concerning what he is ignorant of. Yet it is far from the fact that these laws are in themselves indifferent, or judged to be so by the astronomer who demonstrates their existence, and calculates, by their means, the celestial phenomena, and is never fatigued with contemplating their admirable regularity and abundant applications.

'Thus the domain of indifference is retrenched as intelligence is developed. God is indifferent about nothing, for he knows every thing—matter is indifferent about every thing, for it knows nothing—man, placed between these two extremes, is more or less indifferent, as he is more or less ignorant or wise, that is, as he ap-

proaches beings purely material, or the Being supremely intelligent; whence it comes that materialism conducts to speculative indifference, and consequently to degradation, whilst religion is raising man to God, in familiarising him with the most lofty ideas and the most spiritual doctrines; infinitely perfects his intelligence, and permits him to be indifferent about nothing, which interests him essentially.' p. 56.

The author divides those, who are indifferent, into three sects. First, they who consider religion only as a political institution, necessary for the lower orders of society; the second, who admit the necessity of a religion for all men, but who reject revelation; the third, who are not thorough in their indifference; who acknowledge the necessity of revealed religion, but permit the denial of the truths which it teaches, with the exception of certain fundamental articles.

Having announced this order in his discussion, he concludes his chapter with intreating those for whom his work is intended to lay aside all spirit of contention.

'Of what use is it to deceive ourselves? we do not destroy the truth in obstinately mistaking it; it remains no less what it is, and its day will come sooner or later. In that inevitable day, and which is already near us, the vanity of having repelled the light will be little consolation. Let us then receive it with joy from whatever quarter it come. Let us honor the intellect, which has been given us, in raising it to the contemplation of that truth, infinite, immutable, which holds in its bosom our eternal interests. Our perfection is to know it, and our happiness to love it. Created for it, and for immortality, let us reflect that our life is about to escape from us forever, let us lift our view higher, and, travellers for a moment in foreign regions, let us not place a sad pride in persuading ourselves that we have no native country.' p. 66.

We should far exceed the limits which we propose for ourselves, if we were to examine the several chapters in order, or attempt to point out some errors as we suppose in reasoning, and some declamation against the Protestants, after a very triumphant course of argument against the infidels. We shall leave the work to the discriminating sense of our readers, when we have made some selections from his arguments against the system of Rousseau.

He shows, for his first class of false opinions that no state ever has, or ever can exist without religion, that it is bad in theory and worse in practice, to attempt to strike a line

of division between those, who may be philosophical, and those who must be religious; and he asserts that it is not reasoning, but infectious example and the shame of appearing credulous, which has brought infidelity into the very cottages of France.

The second class of the Abbé's adversaries, and by far more numerous than the preceding, are they who hold the truth of all positive religion doubtful, who believe that each ought to follow that in which he is born, who acknowledge only natural religion to be true. Rousseau is the eloquent defender of this system. The existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, the existence of a future life in his view are sacred doctrines and incontestable truths. He affirms, 'that real duties are independent upon human institutions,' and that 'without faith no true virtue exists,' and since virtue is every man's duty, that 'there are doctrines which every man is bound to believe.' So far well. But instead of reasoning that, therefore, we should choose wisely between contradictory systems, he adds that if we do so and mistake, we deprive ourselves of a great excuse at the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge. 'Will he not sooner pardon an error, in which we have been brought up, than one which we have dared to select for ourselves?'

'Either this discourse has no sense, or the author supposes that a true religion exists, for if there were no such thing, there could be no danger of mistake in seeking it; and since two contrary doctrines cannot both at the same time be true, there can only exist one true religion, and Jean Jacques avows this in so many words.

'"Among so many different religions, which naturally proscribe and exclude each other, one only is good; if indeed there be one that is so." The necessary consequence of all this is, that all men are bound to embrace the good one. But this conclusion leading too directly to christianity, he denies, and he pretends that we cannot discern the true religion; and since some one is necessary, he advises us to follow that in which we are born. He is then obliged to maintain that all religions are indifferent —that is, equally good and equally true. Hear him explain himself. "I look upon all peculiar religions as so many salutary institutions, which prescribe in each country an uniform manner of honoring God, by a public worship, and which may all have their reason in the climate, in the government, in the genius of the people; or in some other real cause, which makes one to be preferred to another."' Emilius, tom. iii. p. 184.

And again;

'Honor in general all the founders of your respective modes of worship; let each one render to his own, that which he believes he owes to them, but let him not despise that of others. They have had great genius and great virtues—these are always estimable:—they said that they were the envoys of God—this may or may not be true.' Lettre à M. de Beaumont, p. 123.

Upon which the Abbé comments.

'This is the first time that I hear the great virtues of Mahomet spoken of. For the rest, since it would be absurd to suppose that the envoys of God taught error, and on the other hand, that a religion founded upon imposture could be a true religion, the last cited phrase signifies literally—it is possible that all religions may be true, it is possible that they may be all false. Thus we may choose between this proposition, and the two others, which are not less naturally deduced from the principles of Rousseau—"that all religions are equally true,"—"that there exists only one true religion."

'For a reader, who wishes to understand himself, it is not a light labour to seek to put the author of Emilius in agreement with himself. This task has something in it to disgust the most subtle reasoner. Thus in the course of a few pages, Rousseau teaches us, that "there are doctrines which every man is *obliged* to believe," and "that nothing is truly essential but moral duties;" and, as if to render the contradiction more preceptible, he adds immediately, that "the inward worship is the first of these duties," and that "without faith no true worship exists." What strange confusion of ideas! Is inward worship morality? Is faith morality? And if no virtue exist without faith, how can virtue be an essential duty, except faith be so too.' p. 123, 124

'After a magnificent eulogium upon the gospel, he adds "with all this, the gospel is full of incredible things, of things which are repugnant to reason, and which it is impossible for any sensible man to conceive of, or admit.' (Emile, tom. iii. p. 187.)

'This seems positive—listen a little and he will tell you that "christianity, not that of today, but that of the *gospel*, is a religion holy, sublime, true."' *Contrat Social*, p. 194.

'Thus christianity is a religion holy, sublime, and impossible to be admitted by any sensible man: christianity is repugnant to reason, and christianity is a *true* religion. Docile admirers of this inconclusive sophist! With what a good grace do you reproach christians with their obedient faith. Christianity, examined carefully, seems to them as to your master, a *true* religion, and they believe in it: good people, whom prejudice blinds to the

degree that they do not perceive that it is impossible for any sensible man to admit this holy, sublime, true religion, which is repugnant to reason.' p. 128.

'Absolute indifference to religion is then the foundation of this system, an hundred times more insulting to the Divinity, than atheism, and more humiliating to man, to whom they dare to say,' —"Blind creature, weak mortal, incapable of discovering truth, whence have you the '*inexcusable presumption*' to seek to know it? Whether it exist or not, what does it concern you? It exists not for you. Your '*duty*' is to obey blindly all the villains, who may style themselves '*envoys of God.*' Whatever error they teach, you must love it. Whatever worship they establish, you must '*practise it sincerely.*' Has chance given you birth in a pagan country? Adore the Gods of your country; sacrifice to Jupiter, to Mars, to Priapus, to Venus; piously initiate your daughters into the mysteries of the Bona Dea. In Egypt you must render divine honors to sacred crocodiles, and the ox Apis; among the Phœnicians, you must offer your children to Moloch; in Mexico, you must take up arms to vanquish human victims for the horrid idol that is there worshipped; elsewhere you must prostrate yourself humbly before the trunk of a tree, before stones and plants, and relics of animals, the impure remains of death. Were you born at Constantinople? Repeat from the bottom of your heart, God is God; and Mahomet is his prophet. At Rome you must despise this same Mohomet as an impostor. All these religions and a thousand others are '*so many salutary institutions which have their reason in the climate, in the government, or in the genius of the people, or in some other local cause, which renders one preferable to the other.*' Here is the only difference, and without tormenting himself to choose, the wise man holds himself to that which chance has given him."

'Such is in its simplicity the doctrine of Jean Jacques, for the only restriction which he offers is visibly chimerical. "The duty to follow and love the religion of our country does not extend," says he, "to doctrines contrary to good morals." Very well. But who are the people, who in obeying their religions, imagine that they wound the obligations of morality.' p. 130, 131.

We offer this as a specimen of our author's strength, or of Rousseau's weakness, or of both. We recommend the fourth and fifth chapters to their attention, who are carried away by the prevailing theories of the age.

It would draw us out into a sea of discussion, to set about analysing the sixth and seventh chapters, where he considers the system of the protestants about the sufficiency of the scrip-

tures and of a belief in its fundamental doctrines. There are many mistakes and misstatements; but we hope no intentional misrepresentations. There is wheat enough with the chaff, to repay the labour of winnowing the heap. This one principle, at least, is clear from it all:—that if we profess to believe in a revelation, we must hold it to be of supreme authority, and a competent tribunal to condemn errors.

Because we do not receive either pope or council, we do not therefore pronounce human reason the only guide; and instead of the Abbé's assertion, that 'the supremacy of human reason in the matter of faith is the fundamental doctrine of protestantism, and also of deism,' we declare, that the submission of human reason in matters of faith to the sacred scriptures is what the deist denies, and what the protestant believes, and it is therefore that he does not take the pope and councils as joint authority. The protestant, by his principles, is obliged to believe all that his reason perceives is revealed:—for as Lord Bacon says in his 'Advancement of Learning'—'if we believe only what is agreeable to our own apprehension of things, we give consent to the *matter* and not to the *author*, which is no more than we should allow to a suspected or discredited witness.'

When we look over the latter part of this volume, we regret that the author has not found time yet to complete his plan. In our humble apprehension he had then been more usefully and honourably occupied, than in aiding M. de Chateaubriand in writing philippics against the 'liberals,' and in showing how much the madness of the Conservateur exceeds the madness of the Minérve. We cannot yet rid ourselves of the fascination, which hangs around eloquence, in whatever cause it be enlisted; and we think the portion of truth in his writings so great as to make them a valuable addition to the public stores of human intellect. While his errors run in such wide and preposterous channels, as the affirming that the circulation of the bible is the reason of the increase of crime, we leave him in the hands of M. Benjamin-Constant, being sufficiently taken up ourselves in the astonishment of beholding this new advocate for the scriptures. We fear that it is a little from the spirit of opposition that he comes so much out of his ordinary track; but we commend his new occupation, and shall be glad to find his party upholding the

scriptures, rather than writing madrigals in the elegant strains of 'c'est la faute de Rousseau.'

To be sure, it is in no sort difficult, to expose the absurdity of the theologian, who pronounces christianity the divinest benefit that ever came from heaven, and yet declaims about the poisonous tendency of the circulation of its sacred books. We have been much interested in observing the recent change of opinions in France. Let the ultras laud despotism and ignorance if they will; if it have the good effect of making all the friends of constitutional liberty the advocates for scriptural knowledge.

The Abbé de la Mennais has a horror too of Lancasterian schools; and has introduced into this very book an eulogium upon the benefits of popular ignorance; p. 417. We regret that he has not rather attempted the instruction of the secular clergy of his church, whether in Paris or in the departments, in the means of extending the influence of religion, to save them from the tiresome task of repeating ancient fables. It is not long since, in a city second only to the capital, in numbers, wealth, and learning, we ourselves heard a discourse in the principal church, made up almost solely of the legend of the miraculous discovery of a saint's relics, as described at large in the infallible history of St. Gregory of Tours. Bossuet himself could not persuade us that it had not been better to have read our Saviour's sermon on the mount, in the vulgar tongue.

But we must close our remarks; and we cannot take leave of this book with a better proof of our desire that it should be generally read, and of our grateful sense of obligation to the author in spite of our many points of difference, than in the following quotations which we are assured, whoever has a human heart must feel the force of.

'In the history of christianity, nations commence and end—they pass with their customs, their laws, their opinions, their sciences; one only doctrine remains always believed, notwithstanding the interest which the passions have not to believe it; always immoveable in the midst of this rapid and perpetual movement; always attacked and always justified, always sheltered from the changes, which centuries bring upon the most solid institutions—the most accredited systems; always the more astonishing and the more admired in proportion as it is the more examined; the consolation of the poor, and the sweetest hope of the

rich; the ægis of the people, and the restraint of kings; the rule of the power which it moderates, and of the obedience which it sanctifies; the great charter of humanity, where eternal justice, not willing that even crime should be without hope and without protection, stipulates for mercy in favour of repentance; a doctrine as humble as it is profound, as simple as it is high and magnificent; a doctrine which subjugates the most powerful genius by its sublimity, and proportions itself by the clearness of its light to the most feeble intellect—in fine an indestructible doctrine, which resists every thing, triumphs over every thing—over violence and contempt, over sophisms and scaffolds, and powerful in its antiquity, its victorious evidences and its benefits, seems to reign over the human mind by right of birth, of conquest, and of love.

'Such is the religion, which some men have chosen to make the object of their indifference. What Bossuet, Pascal, Fénélon, Descartes, Newton, Leibnitz, Euler believed after the most attentive examination, what was the continual subject of their meditations is not judged worthy of a moment's thought. In despising christianity without understanding it, they think to raise themselves above all the genius and virtue, which has appeared on the earth, during eighteen centuries, and absurdly proud of a careless disdain for the truth, whatever it be, they are inflated because they keep up a neutrality of ignorance between the doctrine which produced Vincent de Paul and that which produced Marat.

'Whether God exists or not, whether to this short life succeeds a life that is lasting, whether the only duty is to follow our wishes or whether we ought to regulate them by a fixed and divine law: we wish to know every thing, these things excepted. Men are agreed that every thing interests them except their eternal fate. They have not, say they, time to think of it; but they have abundance of leisure, when the question is about satisfying the most frivolous fantasy. They have time for business—time for pleasures—and they have not time to examine whether there be a heaven or a hell. They have time to instruct themselves in the most vain trifles of this world, where they only pass a day; and they have not time enough to assure themselves whether there exist another world, which they must, whether happy or miserable, inherit eternally. They have time to take care of a body, which is about to dissolve, and none to inform themselves, whether it incloses an immortal soul. They have time to go far to convince their eyes of the existence of a rare animal, a curious plant, and they have none to convince their reason of the existence of God. Inconceivable blindness! And who will not exclaim with Bossuet: "What! is the charm of sense so strong that we can foresee nothing?"

'We have seen convicts laugh, dance upon the scaffold, but the death which they braved was inevitable, nothing could save them from it. In the invincible necessity of dying, they strove against nature, and found a sort of brutal consolation in astonishing the eyes of the people by the sight of a gaiety more frightful than the anguish of fear and the agony of despair. But that a man, uncertain whether his head is not about to fall in a few hours under the axe of the executioner, and certain of saving it, if he will only convince himself of the reality of the danger which menaces him, should remain in repose in this terrific doubt, and prefer before life, some moments of pleasure, or even of listlessness, which a shocking and disgraceful punishment is to terminate; this is what we have never seen, this is what we can never see.

'Whatever contempt we affect for an existence, brief and burdened with so many pains, we are not so easily detached from it; there is no apathy so profound, that the announcing of it, the idea alone of approaching death, does not awaken. What do I say? Every thing, which touches us, whether in our health or goods, or enjoyments or opinions or habits, startles, alarms, transports us out of ourselves, inspires us with an indefatigable activity—and we are indifferent about nothing but heaven, hell, eternity.' p. 277.

'"This life is the dream of a shadow," says Pindar. When we consider from a certain height the objects upon which the activity of the human mind usually exercises itself, we are astonished at the littleness of the circle in which it voluntarily incloses itself; and that so little is sufficient to amuse its curiosity and to deceive the infinite desire of knowledge, with which it is consumed. I know of nothing which marks more the misery of man than this surprising facility to content himself in some frivolous employments, with an immense capacity for truth. He loves it naturally, an invincible instinct induces him to seek it incessantly: it is his end, his repose, his happiness, and there is nothing which can take the place of it. I do not speak either of the poor man absorbed in bodily labour, or of the rich man, agitated in the emptiness of pleasure; I speak of those who hold from heaven an independent condition with elevated sentiments. What do you think habitually fills up their thoughts? The Eternal Being—the immutable laws, which he has established. Oh! no: they will wear out their life in combining words, in studying the relation of numbers—the properties of matter—it needs no more to satisfy their powerful intellect. Why do you speak of God to that learned man, who fills the world with the noise of his name? How do you suppose that he will listen to you? Do you not see that at this moment, his mind is altogether occupied in the decom-

position of a salt, hitherto rebellious to his analysis. Wait till he has made known to the universe a new acid: then perhaps you will be permitted to discourse with him about the infinite Being, who has created, as in sport, the universe and all that it contains. This other man composes a history, a poem, a play, a romance, on which he imagines his glory depends; do not disturb him—he must make haste, for death approaches—and what inconsolable grief, if it arrive before he has put the last touch to his fame! It is true that he is ignorant of his own nature, of the place which he occupies in the order of beings, of his future destinies, of what he may hope, of what he ought to fear; he does not know whether there exists a God, a true religion, a heaven—a hell—but he has long since taken his side in these matters, he does not disquiet himself—he does not think of them. These things are not clear, says he; and immediately he acts as if it were clear that they were only dreams.' p. 290.

Art. XXI.—1. *Gaii Institutionum Commentarii IV. e codice rescripto bibliothecæ capitularis Veronensis, auspiciis Regiæ Scientiarum Academicæ Borussicæ nunc primum editi. Accedit Fragmentum veteris jurisconsulti de jure fisci, ex aliis ejusdem bibliothecæ membranis transcriptum.* Berolini. 1820. 8vo. pp. 348.

2. *Ulphilæ partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis palimpsestis ab Angelo Majo repertarum specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Maji, et Caroli Octavii Castillionæi editum. Mediolan.* 1819. 4to. pp. 60.

These two works seem to us among the greatest literary curiosities of the day. Though they have of course no other connexion, we mention them together for the similarity of fortunes which they have experienced. Of the first of them, the Institutions of Gaius, we do not remember to have seen a notice in any English or American journal. The discovery of the work, of which the second is a specimen, has been mentioned in the British journals, and also in our own, but we have seen no notice of the publication itself.

The length of time for which the learned of Europe had been engaged in the study of antiquity, and the diligence with which the libraries of manuscripts had been explored, had very nearly exhausted all hope of discovering any more remains of the ancient literature. Delusive hopes were occa-

sionally thrown out of recovering some of the Latin and Greek classics from the Arabian translations, supposed to have been made of them under the Caliphs; and Erpenius gives us the assurance of a respectable traveller, that the decades of Livy were in existence in the library of the emperor of Morocco at Fez. These same precious decades were also reported to be in the Sultan's library at Constantinople; and we have lately observed a revival of similar fairy tales.

The discovery of an ancient library at Herculaneum, of seventeen or eighteen hundreds of manuscripts, known to be nearly eighteen centuries old, and the invention of a method of unrolling and decyphering them, gave a new impulse to the curiosity of the learned, and excited new hopes of the discovery of some of the lost treasures of ancient literature. We have in preparation an account of the efforts, which have been made in unrolling the Herculanean manuscripts, from the earliest attempts down to the late unsuccessful project of Dr. Sickler, to which such liberal patronage was extended by the British government, and the experiments of Sir Humphrey Davy, of which the result is not yet ascertained. In general, it is well known that all the hopes founded on the Herculanean rolls have been most vexatiously disappointed; that nothing of great interest has been discovered; and that what has been discovered has been so much mutilated in the process of unrolling as to be rendered nearly worthless.

A new hope was excited a few years since by the discoveries of the Abbé Maio, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and this hope has as yet received all reasonable fulfilment. Such of our readers as take an interest in this subject are acquainted in general with his discovery of several lost works of antiquity; among them, the letters of Fronto, some fragments of Cicero, and an epitome of the Roman antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, of which the portion that represents the lost books has been printed.

These discoveries, it is well known, have been made in what are called codices rescripti, or now more frequently by the Greek name palimpsesti. It was an obvious resort, in the scarcity and dearness of parchment, to take an old manuscript, and efface the writing from it, in order to make way for a new work which was valued higher. The taste of the age would of course decide what works should be erased and

what substituted as more valuable; and it is easy to conceive that, in the middle ages, Cicero and Euripides would stand but an indifferent chance when weighed in the scales with the epistles of a church father, or the acts of an œcumenical council. Nay there are many cases already discovered, in which the scriptures themselves have been effaced to make way for homilies and legends.

In fact, one of the oldest manuscripts of the scriptures had long been known as a re-written one. It is that, which is described by Wetstein in his preface to his New Testament, as number C.* It contains externally some of the Greek works of Ephrem the Syrian, to make room for which valuable compositions, as was first discovered by Dr. Peter Allix, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament were effaced. The discovery of this manuscript does not appear to have excited the attention which it deserved, nor do we hear much again of codices rescripti, till the discoveries of Mr. Maio at Milan again called the public attention to them. That celebrated scholar found that many of the manuscripts in the Ambrosian library at Milan were thus re-written, some of them even a second time; and that the ancient ink had penetrated so deeply, that by the application of chemical agents it could be drawn out and rendered legible. We have already alluded to the additions which he has made to ancient literature by the works thus discovered; and the two works which stand at the head of this article, of which one, however, alone was found by Mr. Maio, will, we think, prove more interesting and valuable, than any thing in this way which has yet been found.

The first of them, the Institutions of Gaius, or Caius as he is commonly called, is a treatise on the civil law of the Antejustinianean age. This work, in its original form, had shared the fate of most of the two thousand works on the preceding jurisprudence, from which the Pandects were compiled, and was lost. An epitome of it, however, was in existence, prepared by order of Alaric II, king of the Visigoths, by Anianus his *referendary*, and constituting, with other similar epitomes of the elder codes, and of some treatises of Ulpian and Paulus, a corpus juris for the Visigoths. This compilation had survived the chances of time, and, under the name of Corpus Juris Alaricianum, was familiar to

* Prolegomena, p. 27.

civilians, and formed the chief amount of the Antejustinianean law.

Such was the state of things, when in the year 1816, we think, the baron Niebuhr, nephew of the well known Arabian traveller, and a professor in the university at Berlin, was, with great liberality on the part of the Prussian government, appointed minister resident at Rome, in the avowed design of affording him an opportunity of revising and perfecting on the spot his work on the Roman history, to which we have already alluded in a preceding article of this number. Two volumes only of this history as yet are published, and we believe it to be the opinion of those authorized to judge, that it takes precedence, as well for ingenuity as learning, of every thing which has been written on the early periods of the history of Rome. At the same time we are as yet inclined to look upon his peculiar theory of the origin of the Roman state as paradoxical.

Mr. Niebuhr made his journey to Italy, at a time when the discoveries of the Abbé Maio had excited great sensation in the learned world. He stopped at all the libraries of manuscripts as he passed, and as he informs us in a letter published in the Berlin journal for the history of the civil law, he discovered at Würzburg and Munich some re-written manuscripts of the scriptures. But on his entrance into Italy he had the good fortune to make a discovery of this kind, which must be allowed to be the most brilliant of the kind which has yet taken place. In the course of a two days' visit at Verona, he discovered in the library of the cathedral of that city a re-written manuscript of the entire Institutions of Gaius, of which, as we just observed, nothing but the epitome, compiled for the Visigoths, had been preserved.

This discovery was immediately made known to the public in a letter addressed by Mr. Niebuhr to Messrs. Savigny, Gœschen, and Eichhorn, jun. the conductors of the journal to which we have just alluded.* It is from this letter that we derive the principal details of Mr. Niebuhr's discoveries, for we are surprised to find in the edition of Gaius himself, which is before us, not a word of preface, introduction, or prolegomenon, by which any thing relating to the work could be learned. But we would not have our readers flatter themselves that it will end here; for we much mistake if

* Zeitschrift für Geschichtliche Rechtswissenschaft, vol. iii. p. 129.

this delusive forbearance do not forebode a volume of notices, illustrations, comments, and appendices, far beyond the magnitude of the text itself.

From the letter of Mr. Niebuhr it appears, that in his short visit at Verona, he was so fortunate as to discover, 1. a leaf from an ancient jurist hitherto unknown, evidently Antejustinianean, and ascribed by Messrs. Niebuhr and Savigny to Gaius; 2. two separate leaves much damaged of an unknown ancient jurist; and 3. a codex rescriptus of an ancient jurist, since found to be the Institutions of Gaius, of which an edition is now published, under the title, as we have given it at the head of our article.

The two first articles are, in point of extent, quite inconsiderable; and though now for the first time introduced to general notice, cannot be called new discoveries on the part of Mr. Niebuhr; since they were mentioned by Maffei eighty years ago in his Verona Illustrata, p. 464, and copied in part into the appendix of another work of that remarkable scholar, called Dottrina della Grazia, p. 56—94. Notwithstanding, however, the reputation of Maffei, and his well deserved character for almost universal scholarship, it will readily be conceived, that neither the Verona Illustrata, nor the Doctrine of Grace, were depositaries of these fragments, very favorable to their circulation among the civilians. That fragment of antiquity, however, must be well hid which a German scholar will not find out; and it is justly mentioned by Savigny, as a remarkable coincidence, that at the moment when these leaves were now detected again by Mr. Niebuhr in a decayed manuscript at Verona, they should have attracted the notice of Mr. Haubold, professor of the law at Leipzig, who had accidentally fallen upon them in the work of Maffei, and had made them the subject of a *Program*. Short as the fragments are, they illustrate some points of the Roman law, as is minutely stated by Mr. Haubold, in a subsequent number of the journal above mentioned.

But it is the third article, the Codex Rescriptus, now found to be the Institutes of Gaius, which is far the most valuable, of which the credit of the discovery belongs exclusively to Mr. Niebuhr, a credit enhanced by the fact, that this important relic of antiquity had escaped the notice of so skilful a person as Maffei, who was for a long time, moreover, conversant with the library over which Mr. Nie-

buhr only had the opportunity of casting a rapid glance. 'I have yet to communicate to you,' writes Mr. Niebuhr, 'the most important tidings, viz. that there is preserved at Verona as much of an ancient jurist, as would fill a moderate octavo volume, of which, however, I have been able only to transcribe one leaf as a specimen and a proof. I had begun even at Würzburg to look out for Rescripta, and soon found one, which contained however only fragments of the Itala. [the Latin version of the scriptures, which preceded St. Jerome's.] At Munich, I looked through all the ancient manuscripts and parchments, but found among them all but one *Rescriptus*. It was a portion of the bible under St. Jerome and St. Gennadius de Vitiis. At Verona, however, a better fortune awaited me. The manuscript, number thirteen, containing epistles of St. Jerome, a pretty thick quarto volume from the ninth century, is written over again with the exception of at most a fifth part, which appears to have been new. Of the part originally written and effaced, a portion is theological, but by far the greatest part jurisprudence. It is written in the same hand as the leaf of Gaius just described. The volume is of good size and the margin broad. Single words of a pale colour could be distinguished in the parts where the old and new lines do not exactly coincide, and from these the subject of the work could be conjectured, though nothing farther could be ascertained without chemical means. As the best *agents* were not to be had at Verona, I was obliged myself to prepare in haste an infusion of galls, which, though it but imperfectly answered the purpose, showed at least what might be effected by the hydro-sulphate and the prussiate of potash. According to my conjecture, it is a work of Ulpian.'

Mr. Niebuhr, as has appeared, was less fortunate in his conjecture than in his discovery, and it has turned out to be the Institutions of Gaius as Mr. Savigny more correctly anticipated.—Scarce was the discovery known in Germany, when the Prussian government despatched two scholars to transcribe the manuscript for publication. The persons deputed on this errand were Professor Gœschen, a respectable jurist, whom we have just named as one of the conductors of the journal for the history of the civil law at Berlin, and Professor Bekker, well known for his incredible diligence in the collation of manuscripts, to whom we are indebted for an

edition of the entire works of Plato from a new collation of fifty manuscripts of the whole or parts of his dialogues; for the anecdota Græca; and for the first edition of Apollonius Dyscolus on the pronoun, contained in Wolf's museum. Mr. Bekker also had the singular good fortune to refind at Ravenna the renowned manuscript of Aristophanes, which had been deplored for the last twenty years in England and Italy as lost, but which by some oversight, not very much to the credit of those whose business it was to see plainer, appears to have been all the time lying unobserved in the library at Ravenna.

Committed to such good hands, the manuscript of Gaius was transcribed, with all expedition, and a copy of it had been already made in the autumn of 1818. By what cause the edition has been so long delayed does not appear; not, we presume, the preparation of the notes, for though the short commentary at the foot of the page appears, from a cursory inspection, to have been drawn up with great erudition, yet it is a learning of the kind which stands easily at the command of an experienced teacher of the science.

Of Gaius himself, the author of this rescued fragment, next to nothing is known. He is generally placed in the age of Adrian or the Antonines, but it has been proved by Mr. Hugo of Göttingen, that he must have written at least under Caracalla.* Some of the modern civilians have been scandalized that he should have descended to us with the simple name of Gaius, and have been inclined to argue from this circumstance that he is a fictitious personage, a paradox evidently untenable, and refuted by Meerman in the animadversion on Gaius, contained in the seventh volume of his Thesaurus of the civil law, p. 676, where may also be found various other details of his person and works, too minute to interest the general reader. For an enumeration of his works, and of authors who treat of him, we refer those who wish for farther information, to Fabricius' Bibliotheca Latina, ii. 525; to Hugo's Manual of the history of the Roman law, § 307, and to Haubold's Institutiones, i. p. 278, where an ample literary notice is given.

The quotations of Gaius by Boethius, by the author of the Comparison of the Mosaic and Roman laws, and in the Pandects, had furnished the means of rectifying some portions of the epitome of Anianus, and the whole mass was wrought

* Civilist. Magaz. vol. ii. p. 358.

together by the learned civilians of modern times, as nearly as possible into the original form. How far the fragments of the work existing in these several sources will assist in filling up the lacunæ and illustrating the readings of the new found manuscript remains to be seen by those, who may make a study of the work of Gaius. He was continually mentioned by the German civilians of the present day, even before the edition of his Institutions had left the press. The discovery of this manuscript was frequently pronounced to promise an *era* in the study of the Roman law, and to exceed in importance any other which had been made, since that of the manuscript of the Pandects. The subject is mentioned in this strain by Mr. Hugo, in an article in the Göttingen Literary Journal, for Jan. 1820, though the work then was not all printed. We are apprehensive, however, when we reflect on the mass of Roman law condensed into the Corpus Juris, and contained in the Jurisprudentia Antejustinianea, as well as on the mutilated and illegible state in which the Verona manuscript appears to exist; that, though single questions of learned jurisprudence may receive light from the discovery, yet no new point of great practical moment will be disclosed: and that the state of the manuscript will cause two doubts to be started for every one it settles.

The work is printed with great discretion. The lines, as they exist in the original, are parted off in the impression, and all the lacunæ of letters or words are left unsupplied in the text. In the margin they are filled up according to the probability of the case and the judgment of the editor, the correctness of which the reader has the means of estimating. In a second margin is the commentary, to which we have alluded.

But it is time to turn to the second work at the head of the article. This we have not had an opportunity of seeing, and are indebted for our knowledge of this interesting publication, to the Göttingen Journal for March 9, 1820. We alluded to the discovery, of which this is a specimen, in our number for January 1820, p. 122. The Gothic language is perhaps entitled to be considered the oldest of many kindred dialects of the ancient Teutonic stock, and is therefore interesting to us as the oldest form in which the ground work of our native tongue exists. Of this Gothic dialect, nothing (save some fragments too small to be named) was known to be

extant, but some remains of the translation of the scriptures made in the fourth century by the Bishop Ulphilas. These fragments, moreover, with a single exception, existed but in one manuscript, called the Silver Manuscript, from the circumstance that the letters were plated.

This manuscript is so curious, that our readers will pardon us for dwelling a moment on it. It is estimated to be a thousand years at least old, and till the beginning of the seventeenth century was preserved in the abbey of Werden in Westphalia. By some unknown accident it was transferred to Prague, in Bohemia, in the course of the thirty years' war, when it fell into the hands of the Swedes among the rest of the plunder of that city, and was sent by them to Sweden. In the reign of Christina it found its way, it is not known by what means, into Holland. It is the opinion of some that it was presented by Christina to Isaac Vossius; while others think that this learned man packed it up with his baggage in returning from Sweden, probably in consideration that the manuscript was defective in that part which contained the translation of the eighth commandment. Be this as it will, it was bought in Holland by the Swedish chancellor, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who presented it to the university of Upsal, where it still exists, and is justly reputed one of the most valuable fragments of ancient literature.

The fragments of the Gospels contained in the Silver Manuscript have been three or four times published. In the year 1758, F. A. Knittel discovered another fragment of the Gothic version of Ulphilas in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel, and what deserves to be mentioned as a very singular coincidence with the discoveries of Mr. Maio, the fragment of Ulphilas found by Knittel in the library of Wolfenbüttel was also in a *Codex Rescriptus*. It had been originally written in the Gothic character, and with a parallel Latin version, but had been effaced to make room for the *Origines* of Isidore Hispaliensis. This discovery was immediately announced by Knittel, in a program, and the fragments published two or three years afterwards. They consist merely of a few parts of chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, but furnish the groundwork of a clever quarto volume in the hands of Knittel.

* See on this subject Michaelis Introduction, iii. 130 et seqq, and Rosenmüller Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese, iii. 158.

Such was the situation of things, in relation to our documents in the Gothic language, when Mr. Maio announced at Milan the splendid discovery of farther portions of this venerable version, by a notice in the journals in the month of September 1817, called avis concernant une nouvelle decouverte d'Ulphilas dans la bibliotheque ambrosienne. The work, of which we have placed the title at the head of our article, is a specimen of this discovery; and it appears from the apology, which Mr. Maio and his collaborator make for the possible imperfections of their work, that it was prepared in the space of two months,—a preparation of which a part was the learning of the Gothic language!

It appears from the notice of this specimen in the Göttingen Journal for March 1820, and which seems to be from the pen of Mr. Grimm of the library at Cassel, well known to those conversant in these studies, as one of the most successful cultivators of the ancient Teutonic dialects, that the portions of the version of Ulphilas retrieved by Maio were found scattered in five different manuscripts in the Ambrosian library. They are described as follows:

1. A quarto manuscript of 204 pages, containing the homilies of St. Gregory on Ezekiel. These homilies were apparently written in the eighth century, and the manuscript was prepared by effacing the Gothic version of considerable parts of Paul's Epistles.

2. A quarto manuscript of the eighth or ninth century, containing the Commentary of St. Jerome on Isaiah. This also was originally written with the Gothic version of some of the Pauline epistles.

3. Is a Latin manuscript, of which the original contents were portions of the Gothic Ezra and Nehemiah.

4. An old Latin manuscript of the Gospels, contains, on a single leaf, a fragment of the Gothic version of St. Matthew, and joining by a remarkable coindence to the fragments of the 'Silver Manuscript.'

5. A folio manuscript of the Acts of the Council of Chalcedony, contains ten re-written pages of some Gothic homilies of an unknown author, in which are quoted several passages of the gospels. It is said, in subsequent accounts, that since the Abbé Maio's removal from the Ambrosian library at Milan to the Vatican at Rome, he has discovered more of these Gothic homilies, and thus contributed still farther to

enlarging the stock of materials, for the study of the antiquities of the English language. It is to be regretted that so little of the Old Testament has as yet been retrieved.

The eyes of the learned world are on the researches which Mr. Maio is now making in the Vatican; and if their importance be to that of his dicoveries at Milan, in the proportion of the stores in these two libraries, we may almost hope to go behind the Alexandrian canon, and recover works not only now lost, but nearly so in the early centuries of the christian era.

ART. XXII.—*Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect. By Thomas Brown, M. D. F. R. S. Edinburgh, &c. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.* Third edition. Edinburgh, 1818. 8vo, pp. 569.

A WHOLE article of solid metaphysics is a phenomenon, that perhaps requires apology, as well as explanation. We will therefore briefly submit our reasons for its appearance.

The philosophy of the late lamented Dr. Brown is scarcely known in this country. It was presumed that considerable interest would attach among us to the speculations of the successor of Dugald Stewart, whose own work on the Mind has passed, we believe, through as many editions in the United States as in Great Britain, and who is well known, on becoming *emeritus*, to have warmly recommended Dr. Brown to the chair of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. But farther, there is a vague belief among those who are but partially acquainted with the nature of the late professor's speculations, that they coincided too nearly with the dangerous parts of the philosophy of David Hume. A faithful analysis of the work before us will correct this error, and redeem Dr. Brown's reputation. Still further, an unjust and indiscriminate censure has overwhelmed the whole system of Hume itself with relation to the doctrine of Cause and Effect. When Professor Leslie, in consequence of having expressed his approbation of certain portions of that system, encountered from the ministers of Edinburgh strong opposition to his pretensions as candidate for a chair in the university, the nucleus of the present volume was published in a pamphlet form, and by distinguishing what was sound from

what was exceptionable in the opinion of Hume, contributed to soften the opposition made to the too honest candidate. The work, in its present very much enlarged state, confirms the points maintained in the pamphlet, and though we profess no love, and but qualified respect for Hume in his metaphysical capacity, we are willing to assist in removing every unfair stigma from every literary reputation. Besides these reasons, the subject itself, we should hope and presume, however abstruse, will not be deemed entirely devoid of interest and importance. Truth is worth looking after, even among the clouds. A bulky octavo is not written in vain, if it gives the world one clear idea, which it would not have otherwise had. The subject of this work, as the author truly remarks, involves the philosophy of every thing that exists in the universe. Hence it must have some practical bearings. Some portions of the treatise before us might be aptly denominated the philosophy of religion. Considerable light is thrown on our relations with the Deity; the idea of our dependence on him is somewhat simplified from that dark and confused mystery which hangs over it; and the clearer the idea, the deeper and better the impression it must make on the mind. The system under review provides also for the admission of the miraculous interference of the Deity, and therefore bespeaks the attention of the lovers of revelation; it admits of the doctrine of a particular providence, and must therefore be not unwelcome to the devout. In addition to these reasons, we considered that the race of lovers of pure old-fashioned metaphysical disquisition is far from being extinct. Edwards on the Will is still the principal rallying point of our orthodoxy, and Locke* is a general classic among our colleges. The influence of their style and speculations will make us sure of some zealous readers. In the next place, this book is a book of great power. Those who read Montorio, Mandeville, Anastasius, Don Juan, for the intellectual energy they display, may here find intellectual energy enough, and not be

* Is not a *System of Metaphysics* wanted for our colleges? Something like a history of opinions in that science, with or without the theories of the compiler. Would Locke obtain more than a respectable chapter in such a system? Brunck, Stewart in his Dissertations, and Degerando would furnish copious and valuable assistance in compiling it. The work of the latter is indeed an admirable specimen of what we recommend.

liable to the suspicion of seeking amusement from the narrative, or gratifying their corruption with the sentiments. Lastly, the improbability that the book will be ever published in this country, united with the high price of the English edition, induced us to present the ensuing careful abstract to those who may not have access to the original work; while those who have, may be glad of a thread to lead them through a book, which for the abstruseness of its topics, for refinement in its reasonings, for diffusive amplifications, for winding yet collateral digressions, for long and solemn preambles before the questions discussed are stated, thus creating the suspense of mind which is incident properly to forms of synthetical demonstration, has not many rivals; and yet has no titles to its chapters, no sketch-arguments, no table of contents, no indexes!

Part First of the 'Inquiry' treats of the *Real Import* of Cause and Effect.

A cause, Dr. Brown defines to be, *that which immediately precedes any change, and which existing at any time in similar circumstances, has been always, and will be always, immediately followed by a similar change.* The object of his Inquiry is to prove, that there is no hidden, mysterious, connecting link between those antecedents and consequents, which we call causes and effects, when we speak of the changes which happen in any part of the material or intellectual universe. The *substances* that exist in nature are *every thing* that has a real existence in nature. These substances have no *powers, properties,* nor *qualities,* separate from themselves,—words adopted by us only for the sake of convenience, and to express the *changes* which we observe to happen around us. A follows B, and B follows C. Now by all the effort which our minds can exert, we can form no idea of any thing in these sequences, but the substances A, B, and C, and the sequence itself. We may say, that fire has the *power* of melting metals, but all we mean, or all we know by it, is, that fire melts metals, which expresses only the two substances, fire and metal, and the change, called melting, which takes place between them. The above abstract terms are indeed of great use in assisting us to avoid circumlocution in our discourse; but we are apt to forget, (and Dr. Brown has pretty well forgotten) that they are mere abstractions, and to regard them as significant of some actual reality. The powers of a substance

have been supposed to be something very different from the changes which it operates on other substances, and most mysterious; at once a part of the antecedent, and yet not a part of it; an intermediate link in a chain of physical sequences, that is yet itself no part of the chain, of which it is notwithstanding said to be a link. The most that can be said of these imaginary powers or causes is, that they are new antecedents and sequents thrust in between the former, and requiring themselves as much explanation as the changes which they were brought to explain.

Such we believe to be the substance of Dr. Brown's first section of twenty pages. His elegant paragraphs, his varied and ample illustrations, his occasionally appropriate and eloquent reflections, and even many of his collateral arguments and inferences, though important, must of course disappear before the rugged wand of analysis. We hope, however, yet to find room for the extraction of a few of his more splendid and elaborate passages.

Before proceeding with our abstract, we think proper to notice an obvious objection which has been frequently urged against the foregoing definition of a cause, and to extract our author's reply to it, though occurring in a distant part of his book. If the definition be true, it is asked, why are not day and night reciprocally the cause of each other? Dr. Reid calculated on a great triumph over Hume by pressing this objection. The Quarterly Review, we observe, has repeated it in an article on Leslie's Geometry, (No. VII) and a late number of Blackwood's Magazine, in attempting to defend the incessant attacks of the editors on Mr. Leslie's reputation, has brought it forward again. We shall subsequently, in some strictures of our own upon the definition in question, attempt to show that this objection, and all of the same class, might with great ease have been obviated, if the notion of contiguity in place, as well as proximity in time, had been introduced into the definition. Here, however, we will let our author speak for himself.

'It should be remembered that *day* and *night* are not words which denote two particular phenonena, but are words invented by us to express long series of phenomena. What various appearances of nature, from the freshness of the first morning-beam, to the last soft tint that fades into the twilight of the evening sky,

changing with the progress of the seasons, and dependent on the accidents of temperature, and vapour, and wind, are included in every day! These are not one, because the word which expresses them is one; and it is the believed relation of physical events, not the arbitrary combinations of language, which Mr. Hume professes to explain.

'If, therefore, there be any force in the strange objection of Dr. Reid, it must be shown, that notwithstanding the customary conjunction, we do not believe the relation of cause and effect to exist between the successive *pairs* of that multitude of events which we denominate night and day. What then are the great events included in those terms? If we consider them philosophically, they are the series of positions in relation to the sun, at which the earth arrives in the course of its diurnal revolution; and in this view, there is surely no one who doubts that the motion of the earth immediately before sunrise is the cause of the subsequent position, which renders that glorious luminary visible to us. If we consider the phenomena of night and day in a more vulgar sense, they include various degrees of darkness and light, with some of the chief changes of appearance in the heavenly bodies. Even in this sense, there is no one who doubts, that the rising of the sun is the cause of the light which follows it, and that its setting is the cause of the subsequent darkness.

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'How often, during a long and sleepless night, does the sensation of darkness,—if that phrase may be accurately used to express a state of mind that is merely exclusive of visual affections of every sort,—exist, without being followed by the sensation of light! We perceive the gloom, in this negative sense of the term *perception*;—we feel our own position in bed, or some bodily or mental uneasiness, which prevents repose;—innumerable thoughts arise, at intervals, in our minds, and with these the perception of gloom is occasionally mingled, without being followed by the perception of light. At last light is perceived, and, as mingled with all our occupations and pleasures, is perceived innumerable times during the day, without having, for its immediate consequence, the sensation of darkness. Can we then be said to have an uniform experience of the conjunction of the two sensations; or do they not rather appear to follow each other loosely and variously, like those irregular successions of events, which we denominate accidental? In the vulgar, therefore, as well as in the philosophical sense of the terms, the regular alternate recurrence of day and night furnishes no valid objection to that theory, with the truth of which it is said to be inconsistent.' p. 387.

The second section [the sections have no titles] appears to urge two points; first, that the sort of antecedence, which is necessary to be understood in our notion of power or causation, is not mere priority, but *invariable* priority. In the unbounded field of nature there are many co-existing series of phenomena. Just at the moment when the fire melts the metal, the hand may move the metal. In this case it may be said that the motion of the hand immediately precedes, or is an antecedent to the melting of the metal, but would not in fact be called the cause of it. *Fire* alone *invariably* precedes such a change, and is thus called its cause. So the sun may rise immediately before the tide rises, but the want of universal invariableness in this sequence prevents us from ascribing to it the relation of cause and effect. These illustrations we have ventured of ourselves, the author having strangely introduced none on this most important point, though he could have selected so many, at once rich and impressive, from the wide regions of nature. The second point is an argument in favour of the author's peculiar notion of power; an argument which he calls the *test of identity*, and relies upon it with much confidence. It is this. How much soever our former habits of thought, or, as the author would have it, our former abuse of language, may lead us to suppose that there is really such a thing as *power*, which operates any change, exclusively of the substances involved in the very change itself, yet the longer we attend to it, and the more nicely and minutely we endeavour to analyse it, the more clearly shall we perceive, that all which we have ever understood, in the notion which we have been accustomed to express with so much pomp of language, is the mere sequence of a certain change, that might be expected to follow as immediately at another time, when the same antecedent recurred in the same circumstances. Thus, when we say that a spark has the *power* of kindling and exploding gunpowder, we say no more and no less than that in all similar circumstances the explosion of gunpowder will be the immediate and uniform consequence of the application of a spark. And because these two propositions communicate the same identical information, the author maintains that the idea of power in the first proposition is perfectly nugatory, or rather, is a non-entity.

Section third applies the foregoing arguments to all the mental phenomena. We wish to move our limbs, and they

move at our bidding. Here is a sequence, and nothing more —not an atom of power! There is in the first place a desire to move the hand. This is one phenomenon. There is then the motion of the hand, that is to say, the contraction of certain muscles. Thus, reader, you see how magically the author makes the power, which John Locke was pleased to confer on you, slip down into nothing between these two phenomena. If you doubt it, he calls for his *test of identity*, and asks, should we learn any thing new, by being told that the will would not only be invariably followed by the motion of the hand, but that the will would also have the *power* of moving the hand? He then proceeds to explain the illusion under which the world has been labouring from time immemorial. It seems we have all along supposed such a thing to exist as the will. It is a mistake; there is no such thing. A volition is but a momentary desire. Nature has so disposed of things around us, that innumerable of our desires are always followed immediately by their objects; of which the infinite varieties of contractions of the muscles in every part of the body are instances. If your desire of wealth were followed by one hundred thousand pounds as immediately as your desire of elevating the eye-lid is followed by that muscular motion, you would call that desire, will. So, if your will to move a palsied hand were followed by the obstinate quiescence of that hand, your will, with all its boasted energy, its illusive power, would degenerate into, or rather would remain simple desire. Now it is the rapidity with which the state of things about us has permitted certain changes to follow *some* of our desires and not others, that has led us to ascribe to the former a mysterious quality called power, and to give them a specific name. But the author's acute analysis would seem to reduce into one the two operations of will and desire, and thus to demonstrate that, in all our voluntary actions, there is nothing more than a simple sequence of two phenomena, viz. the will, or a momentary desire, of exactly the same kind with all our other desires—and the external act. On this head, the author successfully combats the common sophism that the will and the desire may be opposed to each other, and exist so at the same moment of time. When a compassionate judge condemns a criminal to death, he does not at one and the same moment will the criminal's death, and desire his life; the final will to utter the awful award of

punishment *succeeds* his compassionate desire, and arises from his belief of a greater good upon the whole which will result from a severe decree. And so of all analogous cases. Be it understood, however, that the author has no quarrel against the term will; he allows it to be convenient for the purpose of expressing such of our desires as are immediately followed by their objects; but he will not allow it to express any thing more than desire, nor to involve a peculiar notion of power or energy which it has always been supposed to possess.

The next question, into which the author enters with equally unthinking intrepidity, is, whether what is called the will has any power over the thoughts, or trains of thought, or any states or affections of the mind. To will directly the conception of any particular, is, surely, to have already the conception of that object; for if we do not know what we will, we truly will nothing. To will directly any idea, therefore, is a contradiction in thought, and almost in terms. The author shows also that it is not less absurd to suppose that we can directly will the non-existence of any idea, since our desire to do so would rather render it more lively. Nor is there such a power as indirect volition, or calling up any particular idea by others which we know to be associated in place or time; for if we can effectively will the associated ideas, we can as easily will the unknown idea itself. The fact is, we do not *call up* any of these ideas; but our *desire* of remembering something once told to us, or which once happened to us, &c. *continuing*, the natural order of associate ideas suggests itself, till sooner or later, the unknown idea of which we were in quest takes its turn to present itself to our mental view. If the preceding views of these mental phenomena be correct, what becomes of the idea of that *power*, which has been always ascribed to the *will?*

Some have asserted, however, [we now go on with section fourth] that from mind alone we derive our notion of power; and that the notion which we thus acquire by the consciousness of our own exertion is afterwards transferred to the apparent changes of matter. This is Mr. Locke's theory. He supposes that when we voluntarily operate any change, we are conscious of exerting *power*, and thus when we see a loadstone attract, or produce a change on iron, we from the analogy of our feelings ascribe power to the loadstone. But if the arguments of the preceding section be right, we have

nothing to transfer from our own feelings to the operations of matter. We desire the motion of our arm; the arm moves; there is nothing but antecedent and consequent here. So, when the loadstone approaches the iron, the iron moves; here too is antecedent and consequent. In neither case is there a third substance, or a third any thing, to be called power. If we have any thing to transfer from our own feelings to the motion of the iron, it is desire, which is about as reasonable as to transfer to our own feelings the idea of a moving loadstone. Again, Mr. Hume supposes that the animal *nisus*, which we experience, enters very much into the common idea of the power of one material substance on another. But the author shews by a copious, elaborate, and beautiful induction, that the universal tendency both of vulgar and scientific minds is never to illustrate the operations of material substances by analogies drawn from mind, but on the contrary, only to illustrate the operations of mind by analogies drawn from matter. Hence, Mr. Hume's idea is opposed to universal experience. The section is concluded by a most eloquent, and, as we think, triumphant attack upon that imperfect analysis, which has led philosophers to term matter *inert*, as capable only of *continuing* changes, and to distinguish mind alone as active, and capable of *beginning* changes. If mind often act upon matter, as often does matter act upon mind. The truth is, that certain changes of mind invariably precede certain other changes of mind, and certain changes of matter certain other changes of matter, and also that certain changes of mind invariably precede certain changes of matter, and certain changes of matter invariably precede certain changes of mind. Where then is the advantage of one over the other in point either of inertness or activity? Is it in the *motion* which mind produces on matter? But matter, on its part, produces *sensation* in mind. Even the apparent *rest* of matter, which the author clearly shews is the foundation of our mistaken notion of its inertness, is a sort of action rather than repose. The particles of the seemingly quiescent mass are all attracting and attracted, repelling and repelled; and even the smallest undistinguishable element is modifying by its joint instrumentality the planetary motions of our own system, and is performing a part, which is perhaps essential to the harmony of the whole universe of worlds. So much for the supposed

inertness of matter, and for the origin of all our idea of power in the mind alone.

Section Fifth. That original energy—the Omnipotent—the Cause of causes—is the subject of this sublime and unequalled section. But it is only physically that we are here brought to consider the divine power, although in passing, the author pays, to the dignity and interest of our moral relations with that being, a tribute, which could have been dictated only by a mind deeply imbued with the most genuine living piety. The author firmly believes in the original dependence of all events on the great Source of Being; his conviction is equally strong that he is the providential Governor of the world; but he maintains that God, the creator, and God, the providential governor of the world, are not necessarily God, the *immediate* producer of *every change.* To suppose that he is himself the real operator and the only operator of every change, is to suppose that the universe, which he has made, exists for no purpose. In fact, we have ourselves long believed, that so far from derogating from the glory of our Creator, it actually increases it, to suppose that he has communicated to matter those qualities and laws, which produce most of the events that take place throughout creation. The stretch of power, and height of wisdom in this view, if we may dare to compare what is every way infinitely above us, are greater than would be displayed in his universal and immediate interference. Yet it has long been, and is still, the general belief of philosophers, that beside the physical causes comprehended in the antecedents of those consequences which appear as effects throughout the world, there is an efficient cause, that in every case is different from them, and necessary for the production of the effect; an invisible something, which connects each particular consequent with its particular antecedent, or rather is in every case the sole efficient of it. This efficient cause the Cartesians considered to be the Divine Being alone. That idea is now generally exploded; yet still the imaginary efficient cause is retained, though with a less reverend appropriation. Against this theory our author contends that, even if you allow its truth, it only introduces a new operator in every change, it only lengthens a sequence of physical phenomena, and does not produce any thing different from a sequence of regular antecedents and consequents. A is invariably fol-

lowed by C, and I therefore say that A is the cause of C. But you would insert something between, and say that B is the real efficient cause of C. But what do you thereby gain? Have you discovered something between A and C, which did not appear to me? If you have, you have only analysed a complex phenomenon more perfectly than I, and I am ready to acknowledge the new link of connexion. If you have discovered no such link, but only suppose it, then, whether it be material or spiritual, visible or invisible, you have still to explain how your new cause produces the existing effect, and are driven back to the author's own definition and idea of a cause, founded on the uniform precession of one event to another, and nothing more. Nor will you gain the least triumph over the author, by appealing from his definition to the supposed constant interference of the Deity in every change that exists; for, to say nothing of the utter uselessness, the idle, aimless, cumbrous existence of matter, which this appeal supposes, or the blasphemy involved in making the material objects of creation to be as it were only necessary *remembrances* for the Deity when and where he should act, the author is ready to meet you on your own ground, and he comes prepared with no other weapon than his own simple definition and idea of power or causation. In all those cases, he demands, in which the direct agency of the Supreme Being is indubitably to be believed, *even in that greatest of all events, when the universe arose at his will*, what notion are we capable of forming of such a change? And are we to consider that highest energy to be different in *nature* as well as in *degree*, from the humble delegated energies, which are operating around us? The author strenuously contends that we are not so to consider it, and that if we rise to the strongest conception of the omnipotence of God, of which we are capable, still, in contemplating it, we only consider his will as the *direct antecedent* of those glorious effects which the universe displays. This sublime and simple idea he shows to be entirely compatible with our highest conceptions of the intelligence, wisdom, benevolence, free choice, and glory of the Supreme Being, and that, to interpose an imaginary link, an intermediacy figment, whether we call it by the name of power or any thing else, between the will of God and the effect that darts out of it, so far from elevating, would only diminish the majesty of the person and the scene.

With this magnificent conclusion, Dr. Brown terminates the first part of his inquiry into the relation of cause and effect. We need not say how forcibly the lovers of revelation must be struck at the coincidence of this result with the celebrated description of the creation of light and of the world in the beginning of Genesis. Surely, if nothing more, it is at least an interesting fact in the history of metaphysical philosophy, that during the last hundred and fifty years, and in that portion of the globe in which the Hebraic Scriptures have been universally exposed, and more generally read than any other book; while busy, restless, and ambitious thinkers without number have agitated their systems and theories; theologians frowning on philosophers, not so much for refusing to be taught from the bible, as for picking flaws in *their* schemes of divine power and agency; and philosophers sneering on theologians for defending a book, which happened to contain no trace of their own refined views of the connexion of cause and effect, of power and result; yet at length, an author, who was equal to any of his predecessors for severe and logical habits of thought, for intellectual education and metaphysical genius, and superior to them in the advantage of coming later into the world; an author, whose professional duty it was to search for truth among all their systems and theories, and who unquestionably was fully equal to the task of examining, analysing, estimating, and deciding on them; an author, too, who has carried mere *refinement in reasoning* as far as it was ever carried before; perhaps but just short of a fault; has at length finished this vain and tumultuous circle of philosophizing, by coming round to the precise point where Moses began, and demonstrating that the founder of the Jewish polity and literature has at least set out with teaching us an ultimate truth, which he has so beautifully amplified and illustrated in his immediately succeeding emblematical picture of creation. So true it is, that the progress of philosophy, like that of social civilization and genuine refinement, is continually tending in its results to the original dictates of pure and unsophisticated nature.

Of the notes on this part of the Inquiry, it would be unmerciful in us to attempt to convey an idea by means of a detailed abstract. They contain criticisms on Mr. Hume's definition of a cause; an argument reducing what are called *final causes* to real *prior causes* in the mind of the Deity; additional con-

siderations to show that the qualities of a substance are not separate from the substance itself; remarks on the universality of a belief, in all ages, of something like an imaginary efficient cause; a long essay on the true nature and in defence of the possibility of miracles against the arguments of Hume, but on principles different from those of all Hume's former opponents, which the author thinks to have been inadequate; another long essay, demonstrating the perfect possibility, but the very high improbability of a particular providence, maintaining the reasonableness of the doctrine, but refuting its necessity; and two or three other notes, which confirm or illustrate some portions of the text. An abstract of the two long essays on miracles and a particular providence, however interesting in themselves to a majority of our readers, might perhaps serve with more propriety as an article for a theological journal.

To those, who have become convinced by the reasonings of the preceding part, the question will naturally occur, how has it happened that the world has been so long deceived? Why that universal concurrence of mankind in every age in supposing certain causes always to exist separately from the substances in which changes are constantly seen to take place? This question is too imposing to be passed over. Accordingly, the author devotes to it the whole of his Second Part, entitled, Of the Sources of Illusion with respect to the Relation of Cause and Effect. We avoid only one error, he tells us, in knowing that we have been deceived; but we may avoid many errors, in knowing how that one has deceived us.

The sources of our error in supposing causes to have an existence separate from the substances which produce any change, are of two kinds; 1st, certain arbitrary forms of language; 2d, the very nature of things.

Under the former head, the author first enumerates *various metaphorical phrases*, which have been employed to express the regularity of the antecedence and consequence of certain phenomena. We speak of events as *connected* or *conjoined;* and we speak of their *bond* of connexion, as if there were something truly intermediate. Now so far as a bond is a sign of *proximity*, so far the word is a very good metaphor to express causation; but inasmuch as it also implies something intermediate between two substances, the frequent use of this metaphor leads to the suppostion that the bond connecting two *events*

is also something intermediate; and the author with great acuteness remarks, that our very ignorance of any thing, really intervening, will only render more mysterious what, obscure as it may be in our conception, we yet believe not the less to exist. Hence the mystery which is often attached to efficient causes, so called.

Another way, in which our language tends to deceive us in this respect, is the necessity which we are under of having some terms to express invariable sequence, and others to express casual sequence. Now it so happens that we have rigidly appropriated cause and effect to express the former, and priority, succession, and other terms for the latter. For convenience's sake, we never confound them. We use the word *cause* so exclusively to express the great circumstance of invariableness, while the word *sequence* or its concrete, *to follow*, is so often used to express mere casual succession, that they assume to our minds the appearance of essential dissimilarity and even opposition, so that we revolt when we come to hear the words cause and sequence coupled together as synonymous; a feeling, which the addition of the important qualifying adjective *invariable* to the latter is not able wholly to remove.

There is yet another form of verbal influence, in some of the most common unavoidable modes of grammatical construction, which seems to have greatly favoured the mistake in question. When, in compliance with the analytical forms of grammar, we speak continually of the powers *of* a substance, or of substances that *have* certain powers, in the same manner as we are accustomed to speak of the birds *of* the air, of the fish of a river, of a park that *has* a large stock of deer, or of a town that *has* a multitude of inhabitants, we gradually learn to consider the power *of* a substance, or the power which a substance *possesses*, as something different from the substance itself, inherent in it, indeed, but inherent as something that may yet subsist separately. And here follows one of the author's very happiest, though quite characteristic illustrations. Indeed, though but an illustration, it almost carries in itself the appearance of a triumphant argument. In the ancient philosophy, he observes, this error extended to the notions both of form and power. In the case of form, however, though the illusion lasted for many ages, it did at length cease; and no one now regards the figure of a

body as any thing but the body itself. It is probable that the similar illusion with respect to power, as something different from the substances that are said to possess it, would in like manner have ceased and given way to juster views; if there had not been, in the very nature of things, many circumstances of still more powerful influence, to favor the illusion in its origin, and foster and perpetuate it.

These circumstances, therefore, will next deserve our consideration.

The first is the seeming latency of power, at times when it is said to be not exerted. We say that there is in cold, unkindled fuel a latent power of liquefying steel; that a man has the power of moving his arm, whenever he chooses to move it; and so forth. With these expressions, as popular and convenient forms of language, the author finds no fault; but he argues at much length, and with considerable, though, as we think, just refinement, that they are utterly incompatible with the results of philosophical analysis. What is permanent, in our imagination of objects, may be very far from being permanent, in the objects themselves which are imagined by us. If power, according to the reasoning in the first section of the First Part of this treatise, express nothing more than the changes which actually take place in substances, there is no power in the intervals of what is termed exertion, because there is no change, nor tendency to change. The power, in short, is wholly contingent on certain circumstances, beginning with them, continuing with them, ceasing with them. In the intervals of recurrence of these circumstances, however,—or, to use the ordinary popular language, in the intervals of *exertion* of the supposed latent *power* of a substance,—we may think of the circumstances in which its presence is productive of change: and knowing that, as often as these circumstances recur, the change, too, will recur, we may transfer to the substance, as if permanent in it, what is truly permanent only in our thought, which, in the absence of the circumstances of efficiency, imagines them present. But a very slight attention, surely, ought to be enough to convince us, that it is by our imagination only, we thus invest the substance with a character of continued power, which does not belong to it. For example, a very high temperature is necessary for the liquefaction of steel by wood. Let them lie forever in their natural state in the closest proximity, and the power

of one over the other will be undeniably non-existent. When their circumstances become changed by the application of heat, at that very moment, and not till then, exists the change of fusion, and consequently the power of fusion, which are therefore equally words without meaning, where the necessary temperature is not. Thus also with regard to the supposed latent power which a man has of moving his arm. Is the man who is now before us, who has his limbs all in a quiescent state, with no intention at all stirring in his mind, is he, in fact, one and the very same complex being with *the man who wills* just previously to the motion of his arm? In philosophical strictness, he clearly is not. The addition of the state of volition changes the compound individual, as much as the addition of heat to ice changes that individual substance to water; only in the one case a visible alteration takes place before our eyes, and we give the changed substance a new name and ascribe to it new powers; whereas, in the other case, there is the same living body before us, at different moments, unaffected in its external conformation by the accession of a state of *willing*, although until that change takes place, the ascription to the living being of an actual power to raise its arm is confessedly absurd, since the arm does and must forever lie still, where the will is not. Our error lies in falsely ascribing a unity and sameness of physical character to substances in all the changes of circumstances in which they can be placed, and in consequently referring to them in all circumstances what is only referrible in certain circumstances. Power, then, is not something latent in substances, that exists, whether exercised or not. What is termed the exercise of power, is only another name for the presence of the circumstances, in which, and in which alone, there is the power of which we speak; as power not exerted is the absence of the very circumstances which are necessary to constitute power. Now from this fallacy of believing that the powers which substances *exhibit to us in certain situations* are *latent at all times* in those substances and yet separate from them, arises the error of supposing that there are mysterious *causes* of all the phenomena we behold, constantly latent in the substances around us, and yet distinct from the substances themselves.

The author closes this Second Part by discussing one more great source of the error in question, viz. *the imperfection of*

our senses. What at first seems to be the immediate cause of many of our sensations, we afterwards learn is only the first antecedent of a long train of antecedents and consequents, reaching from the outward object to our perceptive faculty, which were at first imperceptible, but which some finer analysis evolves and presents to our search. Hence we are led habitually to suppose, that amid all the changes perceived by us, there is something latent, which links them together, and though concealed from our view at present, may be discovered perhaps by some analytic process, that has not yet been employed. He, who for the first time hears a bell rung, if he be ignorant of the theory of sound, will very naturally suppose, that the stroke of the clapper on the bell is the cause of the sound which he hears. By subsequent analyses, however, he successively arrives at the intermediate operations of—vibrations excited in the particles of the bell itself—the elastic medium of the air—the auditory nerve—the whole mass of the brain. All these phenomena, from the imperfection of his senses, were taking place before him unobserved. He suspects, therefore, that in phenomena the most familiar to him, there may be, in like manner, other changes that take place before him unobserved, the discovery of which is to be the discovery of a new order of causes. This constant search, this frequent detection of intermediate causes before unknown, irresistibly induces us to suppose that in every case whatever in which we behold the antecedent and consequent of a change, there lies between them a connecting link, a separate cause, yet undiscovered. Yet it is evident, that between the antecedent and consequent which we at present know, we must at length come to some ultimate change, which is truly and immediately antecedent to the known effect. Do we gain any thing by saying, that this last antecedent has the *power* or is the *cause* of producing the last effect? Is it not equivalent to saying simply that it precedes the effect? For the supposition of a bond or a cause in this last sequence is necessarily out of the case. The truth is, we see only parts of the great sequences that are taking place in nature. If our senses had originally enabled us to discern all the minute changes which happen in bodies, if we had never discovered any thing intermediate and unknown between two known events, a *cause*, in our notion of it, would have been very different from that mysterious, unintelligible

something, between entity and nonentity, which we now conceive it to be, or rather, of which we vainly strive to form a conception; and we should have found little difficulty in admitting it to be, what it simply and truly is, only another name for the immediate invariable antecedent of an event.

The object of the Third Part of this inquiry is to explain *under what circumstances* the belief of power arises in the mind. What leads us to suppose that one thing is the necessary cause of another, or in other words, that any particular antecedent, under the same circumstances, is, has been, and always will be, followed by a particular change? This is a highly curious intellectual fact; the observation of a single moment often suggesting to us a belief which extends through all past and all future time.

Power, as we have seen, necessarily involves the expectation of a future change of some sort, that is to be exactly similar, as often as the preceding circumstances are exactly similar.

Is this expectation built on the ground of *experience* only? Does it imply always, that the consequent has been known to us, as well as the antecedent; or is there, in the appearance of the antecedent itself, before the attendant change has even been once observed, what might enable us to anticipate that change, as about to take place in instant succession?—The author decides this question entirely in favour of experience. He shows that we have no knowledge of the qualities of bodies *a priori*, and therefore no knowledge of the effects which they must produce. Nothing, for instance, in the *appearance* of iron or loadstone indicates to us that these two bodies will rush together on being made to approach each other. Neither their colour, nor their hardness, nor any other quality they possess, would suggest such an effect to our minds. Nor is there any thing in the color, weight, and other sensible qualities of grains of mustard-seed and grains of gunpowder, which would enable us to predict, that a spark, which falls and is quenched on a heap of the one, would, if it had fallen on a heap of the other, have raised it into rapid and destructive conflagration. Nay, the most universal and familiar of all phenomena, those namely of gravitation, admit of no readier prophecy. We expect an object to fall to the ground, not from examining its color, or shape, or hardness, but because we have frequently observed the event to hap-

pen. It is the same too with all the phenomena of the mind, except our instincts, where the knowledge is not in us, but in the great Being who formed us. Nothing *a priori* assures us that certain motions of our limbs will follow certain desires of our minds, or that the sight of wretchedness will cause in one breast no emotion, but will melt another into pity. Experience alone teaches us these and all other mental phenomena.

But experience informs us only of the *past*, while the relation of power is one that comprehends the past, the present, and the future. Something else, therefore, besides mere experience, enters into that operation of the mind, which adjudges to any antecedent in a sequence the attribute of power or causation. Is it by a process of *reasoning*, then, that we are enabled, as it were, to see with our mind what is invisible to our eyes, and thus to extend to the unexisting future an order of succession, which, as future, is confessedly, at the time of our prediction, beyond the sphere of our observation? The author maintains that reasoning does not enter at all into the matter, but that it is nothing more than an *intuitive* and irresistible *belief*, which leads us to anticipate the recurrence of the same consequent, following the same antecedent, whenever the circumstances remain unaltered. When we say that B will follow A tomorrow, because A was followed by B today, we do not *prove* that the future will resemble the past, but we *take for granted* that the future will resemble the past. The past fact and the future fact are not inclusive the one of the other, and as little is the proposition which affirms the one inclusive of the proposition which affirms the other. There is no logical absurdity in supposing, that the one proposition might be true, and the other not true; however difficult it may seem to us to believe the one, without believing the other. We may use the *forms* of reasoning in such a case; yet the belief will always be found to be involved in the very process. A chemist may say, that because a certain gas has just extinguished a lighted taper plunged into it, it *therefore* will extinguish it now. This may seem a fair logical enthymeme. But the major proposition is assumed without proof. It is taken for granted that a lighted taper plunged into the gas will always be quenched, which is the very thing that a semblance of reasoning is brought forward to prove. So when we say, that

a loadstone will continue to attract iron, because it is magnetical, there is only a show, and not the reality of reasoning. Belief, and belief unaccounted for, is all that is involved in the whole process; because, as the very term *magnetical* implies the quality of attracting iron, we might as well have said, that iron will attract iron because it will attract iron. Therefore *reasoning* has no concern with the operation of the mind in question.

It is supposed by some, however, and especially by certain mathematical writers, that there are a few exceptions to the conclusion just drawn. They would seem to contend, that there is a class of facts which are capable of being inferred, even before observation or experience, with complete and independent certainty of the result. The inertia of matter, and the phenomena of the composition of forces, and of equilibrium, have been urged, as instances of this kind. The argument of the sufficient reason has been called in to demonstrate these facts, with a triumphant reliance on its perfect adequacy. The following is D'Alembert's argument to prove the inertia of matter as far as it is comprehended in the continued *rest* of bodies. 'A body at rest,' he says, 'must continue in that state, till it be disturbed by some foreign cause; for it cannot determine itself to motion, since there is no reason why the motion should begin in one direction, rather than another.'* 'Since there is *no reason!*' an assumption of the very thing to be proved. To be capable of asserting that there is no reason why the motion should begin in one direction rather than another, is already to possess the largest conceivable measures of experience, to know all the conditions of existing things, with all their mutual influences. What is or is not a sufficient reason, experience, and experience only can shew. We believe, indeed, that a body will not quit its state of rest, if all circumstances remain the same; for this, from the influence of that general law of thought, which directs our physical anticipations of every kind, it is impossible for us not to believe. But if the irresistible force of this general faith be wholly laid out of account, and if, in affirming, that it cannot quit its state of rest and move in one particular direction, our only reason be, that we see no cause why the body should not begin equally to move in some other direction,

* 'Traité de Dynamique.'

we, in the very supposition that the motion in the particular direction is without a sufficient cause, beg the question, which we yet profess to demonstrate. How can we presume, that we know, at any moment, what physical circumstances may, or may not, be about to determine some particular motion of the body, since we are equally unacquainted with the efficacy or inefficacy of all the circumstances? And if we suppose ourselves to know, previously, the efficacy or sufficiency of some of these circumstances, and the inefficacy or insufficiency of the others, and must therefore know, before any reasoning from the abstract principle, whether a change is or is not to take place, why do we ascribe to the result of the subsequent reasoning the knowledge, which was essential for the understanding of its very conditions or terms?

But our author stops not here. He shews, that the argument of D'Alembert, allowing its force and legitimacy in other respects, does not exhaust all the possible conditions of the case. Is *rest* the only state which a body can assume, even granting that there is no possibility, because there is no reason that it should move one way rather than another? Recollect that the argument is not about a mathematical point, or an elementary atom, but about the bodies which actually exist in nature around us. Why then may not a change take place in the quiescent mass, similar to what we term explosion, when a mass of gunpowder, previously at rest, is kindled? Here there is no particular motion of the elementary particles, east, west, north, or south, but motion in *all these directions.*

The author attacks with equal success a similar argument of D'Alembert with respect to the other case of inertia in bodies, *viz.* their continued motion when no foreign force interferes to put them to rest.

So also with regard to the *uniformity* of their motion; when it is attempted to be demonstrated, that 'the motion must be uniform, *because* a body cannot accelerate nor retard its own motion,' the very point in dispute is obviously taken for granted.

The author wishes it carefully to be remembered that he does not deny the inertia, nor the other properties and phenomena of matter which have been attempted to be made the subjects of abstract demonstration; on the contrary, they appear to him as indubitable, as any other instances of the

regularity of events. He only objects to our supposed power of predicting these facts, independently of experience.

By far the largest section in the book is devoted to strictures on several demonstrations of this kind, given by D'Alembert, Euler, and other mathematicians, who, we apprehend, have been run somewhat too hardly by our acute and ingenious author. It should be recollected, we think, that these writers did not aim at quite such ultimate, abstract, and metaphysical statements of the case, as alone would justify the torrents of argumentation, which are here poured down upon them. They were simply mathematicians. They were engaged in constructing and writing systems of mixed mathematics, in which some general views of matter must necessarily be given, although the principal object of their treatises was only the measurement of quantities. To preserve a scientific form throughout, and indeed to lay a foundation for the whole train of their mathematical reasoning, it was natural that they should throw into theorems, and definitions, and forms of demonstration, against the delusive solemnity of which our author inveighs, some of those general laws and properties of matter which are made known to us *by universal experience.* Even in doing this, we think, they tacitly appealed to experience, and would have revolted as much as Dr. Brown himself at the idea of establishing abstract propositions, independent of the knowledge we already have of the external world. Nor are we much afraid that the apparent solemnity and formality of those demonstrations have deluded so many persons as Dr. Brown imagines, into the error which he is combating. D'Alembert would probably have been willing to let the aforecited argument run thus :—'since there is no reason, *that we know of,* why,' &c. This little clause would have rested the whole matter on experience, and have rendered Dr. Brown's lengthened strictures entirely unnecessary. Now we venture to say, that the French writer had a tacit condition of this kind in his mind, and supposed that every one of his readers had. Little prepared was he to expect, that the thunders of chemistry would be brought to bear on an argument, of which the application was meant to be confined solely and entirely to the measurement of weight and motion. The demonstrations of this nature given by all these writers were good enough for their purpose; they were never intended to

be applied in any form whatever beyond the systems to which they were originally attached, and Dr. Brown himself has not uttered a hint that the mathematical superstructures erected upon them sustain the least injury from the unsoundness or incompleteness of the foundations. We are willing to allow, that the reasonings in question are merely verbal; that they are built on that very experience of which they seem to preclude the necessity; and that they partake perhaps largely of that display, which is characteristic of the style of the modern continental mathematicians. But that they were ever brought forward under the least pretension of assuming ultimate metaphysical truths, we no more believe, than that the subsequent long and intricate demonstrations, founded upon them, were intended as models of oratorical argument. We protest against these quixotic digressions, in which writers in one science try by their own principles the writers in another. What would be thought of an astronomer, who should go far out of his way to overwhelm with confusion the compiler of an ephemeris, for heading his columns, in defiance of the demonstrated truth of the Copernican system, with *sun rises* and *sun sets?* Had our author shewn in a few words, as he might have done, and in a passing way, that the language of mathematicians, if received without due caution, in its whole metaphysical extent, is not strictly true, he would have fully answered his object in the treatise before us, and furnished a very appropriate and sufficient illustration of the necessity of *experience*, in predicting the usual phenomena of matter. But to devote eighty pages of unrelenting and triumphant ratiocination against mathematicians, and that too in the forced character of metaphysicians, was by far too much. We would rather have seen the same space expended on those glaring faults of style, that carelessness, that obscurity, that pomp and exuberance of demonstration where all is plain, that obstinate silence or oracular brevity on points of intrinsic difficulty, and, in short, that total deficiency of rhetorical skill,* which have

* It is our most serious belief, that a new chapter is wanted, in Campbell's Philosophy, and other treatises of Rhetoric, which shall prescribe rules for writing works on the mathematics. Thus, one rule might be, not to sum up the doctrine of surds in the most concise manner possible, and as if the object were only to refresh the memories of veteran mathematicians, while pages were devoted to the easiest and most self-evident portions of the doctrine of plus and minus.

made the elementary treatises of so many mathematicians but sealed books to numberless students, who have reluctantly and desperately sunk into the mortifying conclusion, that they were not born for the mathematics, when the truth of the case was, they were not born to understand writers, who studied not, or knew not how to express themselves.

We have before hinted at our author's doctrine, which makes *intuitive* and *irresistible* belief to be the basis, after experience, of our idea of causation. His view of it is this; whatever antecedent we have observed to have immediately and uniformly preceded any consequent, we *cannot possibly avoid believing* will precede it again and always, when placed in exactly the same circumstances. This belief is just as natural to us as to perceive external things, when they are presented to our senses. The following extract contains the amount of the argument brought to prove this point.

'Perception, Reasoning, Intuition, are the only sources of belief; and if, even after experience,—for experience is in every case necessary,—when we believe the similarity of future sequences to the past which we have observed, it is not from perception, nor from reasoning, that our confidence is derived; we must ascribe it to the only other remaining source. We certainly do not perceive *power*, in the objects around us, or in any of our internal feelings; for perception, as a momentary feeling, is limited to what is, and does not extend to what is yet to be: and, as certainly, we do not discover it by reasoning; for, independently of our irresistible belief itself, there is no argument that can be urged to show, why the future should exactly resemble the past, rather than be different from it in any way. We believe the uniformity, in short, not because we can demonstrate it to others or to ourselves, but because it is impossible for us to disbelieve it. The belief is in every instance intuitive; and intuition does not stand in need of argument, but is quick and irresistible as perception itself.' p. 314.

Another of the author's finest passages is the following, which is brought to defend and illustrate his peculiar views of this subject, and closes the third part of the work. It will evince, moreover, how far his speculations were from those atheistical tendencies, of which they have been suspected.

'That, with a providential view to the circumstances in which we were to be placed, our Divine Author has endowed us with

certain instinctive tendencies, is as true, as that he has endowed us with reason itself. We feel no astonishment in considering these, when we discover the manifest advantage that arises from them; and of all the instincts, with which we could be endowed, there is none that seems, I will not say so advantageous merely, but so indispensable for the very continuance of our being, as that which points out to us the future, if I may venture so to speak, before it has already begun to exist. It is wonderful, indeed,—for what is not wonderful?—that the internal revelation which this belief involves, should be given to us, like a voice of ceaseless and unerring prophecy. But, when we consider WHO it was that formed us, it would, in truth, have been more wonderful, if the mind had been so differently constituted, that the belief had not arisen: because, in that case, the phenomena of nature, however regularly arranged, would have been arranged in vain; and that Almighty Being, who, by enabling us to anticipate the physical events that are to ensue, has enabled us to provide for them, would have left the creatures, for whose happiness he has been so bounteously provident, to perish, ignorant and irresolute, amid elements that seemed waiting to obey them,—and victims of confusion, in the very midst of all the harmonies of the universe.' p. 319.

The Fourth and last Part is employed in an examination of Mr. Hume's Theory of our Belief of the Relation of Cause and Effect. If our readers will lend their attention to a few succeeding statements, they will perhaps find that clear ideas of Mr. Hume's Philosophy have not hitherto prevailed, and that Dr. Brown's system of Cause and Effect, although corresponding with a portion of Mr. Hume's, yet departs as widely as possible from it on every exceptionable point. We shall take considerable pains to set these assertions in a convincing light;—both because we regret to have learned, that an opinion was not long since entertained by most illustrious authority on the other side of the water, that Dr. Brown had been endeavouring to set up a theory of causation, which was ill-understood by himself, and which differed not materially from the theory of Hume,—and because, as our author is now laid where he cannot reply to one surmise against the soundness and correctness of his writings, we would try, with at least as fond a reverence as strangers may be supposed capable of, to efface every stain that may unjustly attach to his literary reputation.

Mr. Hume commenced the statement of his views on this

subject by reviving some hints that former writers had suggested as to the doctrine of a *conjunction*, rather than a *connexion* of the events that are constantly succeeding one another in the world of nature around us. In this simple doctrine, how much alarm soever a mistatement or a misapprehension of it may have once excited, there was not the semblance of a dangerous tendency. It still left the existence of every object and every event in nature as real and as certain as they were before. In resolving those incessant changes, that are every where happening, into a long train of antecedents and consequents, it did not deny, but rather confirmed the necessity of an antecedent for every consequent, and thus furnished a strong argument for the existence of some great First Cause—some necessary antecedent of all the effects in the universe. It still left to this great invisible Being the ability to will into existence every substance that is, and the wisdom of *arranging* that eternal continuity of successive phenomena, which is all the time developing such astonishing results of order, harmony, beauty, and happiness. There was nothing truly sceptical about this doctrine, if by *sceptical* we mean any quality of an opinion, which fairly leads to an irreligious conclusion. The question related purely to a physical matter of fact, which, whatsoever way decided, leaves all the great truths of natural and revealed religion as sacredly guarded as they were before. As for philosophy, *she* certainly had a right to demand the evidence for that supposed invisible link, which connects each change with the substance that produces it. On the absence of that evidence, Hume, trusting to the evidence of the senses which God had given him, and perceiving by those senses nothing more than a succession of changes, advances his leading doctrine, that we can have no other idea of causation, than a bare precession of one event to another, without involving any thing that intervenes between the antecedent and consequent. Dr. Brown, perceiving the strong ground of nature and the senses on which Hume stood, embraces the doctrine, states and defends it at much length in the First Part of this treatise, insists that every new link which is discovered between the two parts of a sequence, such for instance as an inflammable gas between the heat of yon candle and the combustion of this pen, becomes only a new unlinked antecedent to the visible effect;—and not only this, but in his

Second Part, assigns several satisfactory reasons why the world should have been so long deceived in imagining, and giving a name to a nonentity.

The next doctrine of Hume was equally free from the character of scepticism. It was, that the human mind has no capacity of predicting, previously to experience, the particular consequents that will result from any given antecedent, or in other words, that we are unable of ourselves to divine any of the powers of nature. It required but little reflection to adopt this opinion, which, to our minds, is perfectly independent of the former doctrine, and might be true, whatever theory of causation be so. Accordingly, Dr. Brown, as we have seen, in his Third Part, maintains that experience alone is the ground of those predictions which we are every day forming of the future effects of objects now existing around us. Thus far our two philosophers go along together. But from this point they separate; they diverge widely and irrecoverably. Having hitherto agreed with each other; when they come to ask, *on what principle of the human mind* we predict, after experience, the consequences of causes, Dr. Brown answers the question—*by intuitive and irresistible belief.* On thrusting this pen into the candle's blaze, we believe it will burn; but we arrive at this belief, not from any process of reasoning, but because, having before seen the same effect proceed from the same cause, *we cannot help believing it.* This simple and clear statement of an ultimate fact, so consonant to the most approved rules of the Baconian philosophy, terminates Dr. Brown's system. And whether that system be right or wrong, we do earnestly crave leave to insist, that if ever there was one, which deserved the appellations of intelligible, compact, consistent, simple, this is the one. Even before Dr. Brown wrote, we were confessedly all in the dark about causation. He does not pretend to reveal the mystery of it to us, but only to check our impatient and unavailing struggles after a figment of our own fancy, to exhibit the limits of the human mind on this subject, and to confine our reasoning and imagination entirely to the visible side of the curtain of our existence, on which are wrought no other figures, nay, out of which peeps not a thread, but those of experience. If the author himself was so unfortunate as not to understand his own system, he certainly has had the signally good success of causing *some* readers; humble, and

without authority, we allow, but as conscientiously attentive to the train of his reasonings as their capacities would admit of; to comprehend it to their most entire satisfaction. Nor, until we find some hint in his writings, or learn of some declaration that passed his mouth, revealing a consciousness of the unintelligibility of his speculations, can we possibly conceive or believe that he did not understand them himself.

Let us now turn to Mr. Hume, and see if he has really gained in our author an implicit and unqualified follower.

Instead of allowing, or perhaps perceiving the force and authority of that great principle of intuitive belief which terminates Dr. Brown's speculations, he lays a world of stress on the following maxim, which in hands as dexterous as his own, may lead into the most licentious, extravagant, and dangerous scepticism.

'In all reasonings from experience, there is a step taken by the mind, which is not supported by any argument or process of the understanding.'

At the enunciation of this portentous proposition, the mind involuntarily stands aghast. All the realities and well grounded expectations of life seem to be sinking, like fragments of floating ice, under our feet. The truth of the proposition itself you cannot deny; that is, if you allow that the business of life is carried on by 'reasonings from experience.' It is but too evident that from no quarter on earth have we gotten the information that *the future will resemble the past*, which is the assumed step that Hume refers to. Hence one feels that one has no right to introduce that assumption into any reasoning which is to guide his future operations. The consequence is, he may proceed to beat his head against a rock, with all the calmness in the world, and still be a very reasonable man; and why? Why, he has no right to assume that *the future will resemble the past!* and therefore the rock may in all possibility meet his head with the softness of a pillow of down. A wanton assassin may be justified in rushing out of his den, and stabbing a whole virtuous population one by one through the body; because, if he supposes that his dagger will sever their souls from their mortal tenements, he most illogically and unrighteously assumes a step in his reasoning, for which he has no authority, viz: that *the future will resemble the past.* Not to multiply examples of this kind,

which must press on the imaginations of our readers as numerously as on our own, we will yet instance only religion, which, by the magical waving of this dialectic wand, is made to evaporate into air, along with all other solid realities. For why should you rely on any one attribute of Jehovah; why should you trust in his mercy, hope for his bounty, pray for his blessing, nay, expect his existence or your own one moment longer, since in so doing you assume that step for which you have no imaginable authority, which is, that the future will resemble the past?

This is the slough to which Hume would conduct us. It seems a cruel fatality, that the man who has taken off the bandage from our eyes, by which we might have been betrayed into the midst of this miry scepticism, and who has shown us the rock on which we may safely and surely rest our foot far from this side of the horrible results of the above maxim of Mr. Hume, should have been suspected of coinciding in the main with that lubricous philosopher. Brown asserts that we expect an effect to follow any given cause, or the future to resemble the past, only in consequence of *an irresistible and intuitive belief*, which God has wrought into our very constitutions, and which we can no more avoid than we can avoid perceiving a visible object when we open our eyes. Hence, the mind of itself assumes no step in the above-mentioned reasonings, if reasonings there be; it is God himself who assumed it, when he so created us, that there should be a perfect correspondence between our own minds and the onward progress of rolling events around us. From this view of the subject, not one dangerous or shocking consequence flows. It utterly excludes the idea of an arbitrary or unappointed arrangement of things, since we find, in millions of instances, events to take place according to our expectations, and in the few instances where they do not, it is in consequence of the error of our expectations, arising from a limited experience. So far, moreover, from its involving scepticism, it is but too plain that it justifies and encourages a universal and confident belief, as directly opposite to scepticism as pole to pole. And as to exciting any distrust towards the Deity, or any irreligious affections whatever, we have already learned in the beautiful passage which closes the abstract of the Third Part of this book, that in impressing on our minds this unavoidable, this instinctive belief, the

Deity has manifested for us a signal tenderness, which must touch every susceptible heart. When we recollect, that, were it not for this truly vital principle in our mental constitution, we must every moment be liable to be crushed by the masses and powers that are resistlessly moving by, or are at work all around us; that we must be constantly exposed to being caught in the wheels of that mighty machinery, whose operations we can now intuitively predict; or that we must sit still and starve amidst this world of plenty and joy into which we are born; we may literally say of our Creator with Moses, *as an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so the Lord* hath condescended to take care of his creature man.

Yet Mr. Hume, writhing beneath the tortures of his own absurd conclusions, sets about with all his metaphysical might to extricate himself from them, although in so doing, he only wanders still further from Dr. Brown, and plunges still deeper into the mire.

Instead of resorting, at once, with our author, to an ultimate principle of our mental constitution, an intuitive belief, which would have untied the knot that puzzled him, he makes the affair of *the gratuitous step* in our reasonings from experience, a very intricate process, which he would explain to the following effect, as summed up by our author.

'When two objects have been frequently observed in succession, the mind passes readily from the idea of one to the idea of the other: from this tendency to transition, and from the greater vividness of the idea thus more readily suggested, there arises a belief of the relation of cause and effect between them; the transition in the mind itself, being the impression, from which the idea of the necessary connexion of the objects, as cause and effect, is derived.' p. 391.

We can afford but some very short commentaries on this passage, which will, however, be sufficient to demonstrate its astonishing absurdity, and will still further evince that Hume and Dr. Brown do not go hand in hand so affectionately together.

1. Hume begins, 'when two objects have been *frequently* observed in succession,' &c. He here implies, that we do not expect that one thing is the cause of another, or that the

antecedent will again produce the consequent, or in other words, that the future will resemble the past, until after *repeated* observations of the sequence. But our belief arises on a *single* observation, according to Dr. Brown, who instances a vast number of cases in which there can be no doubt, such as the stinging of a bee for the first time, or the smell of a new flower, which we immediately believe will in all future time produce the same effects. Our author reconciles to his principle those cases which seem to contradict it; but we must not stop to show how. The difference between the two authors is our principle object here.

2. 'The mind,' continues Mr. Hume, 'passes readily from the idea of the one to the idea of the other.' There is something so hypothetical, so unphilosophical, in this assumption, that we need not contrast it with our author's simple open theory of *immediate and intuitive belief.* Surely there is some difference between stating an ultimate intellectual operation, as Brown has done, without attempting to explain it, and gratuitously representing the mind as skipping backward and forward from idea to idea, as a bird does from twig to twig.

3. One would have thought the preceding assertion of Mr. Hume quite shadowy enough; but next comes a statement, which is more evanescent and impalpable than even the shadow of a shade. 'From this tendency to transition, and from the greater vividness of the idea thus more readily suggested, there arises a belief of the relation of cause and effect between them.' Whoever can grasp the meaning of this *tendency*, and then combine it, some how or other, with the *vividness of an idea*, so that the union of the two together shall make up the operation of belief, must be blessed with a truly metaphysical genius. Even on the supposition that the statement is clear and intelligible, our author demonstrates its falsity by a long course of arguments, combatting particularly the error that the *vividness* of an idea is essential even to the strongest belief. This is at least a *third* minor difference.

4. 'The transition in the mind itself, being the impression, from which the idea of the necessary connexion of the objects, as cause and effect, is derived.' A *transition in* the mind, an *impression on* the mind!—a high absurdity. Yet this is the very keystone of the theory which would explain our expectations of the future, or our belief in causation, on any other principle than *intuitive* belief.

We leave this passage now to the reflections and the judgment of our readers, and will not attempt to abstract more copiously the hundred pages, in which our author exposes its fallacies, its assumptions, its absurd consequences on the one hand, its inconclusiveness on the other, and the various theories and considerations brought to defend it. The whole topic is somewhat of an excrescence on the simple exposition of the theory before us. The author himself indeed somewhere apologises for its introduction, by observing that Mr. Hume's opinions on the subject have had so powerful an influence on this abstruse but very important part of physical science, that it would be injustice to his merits, to consider them only with incidental notice, in a work that is chiefly reflective of the lights which he has given. We will therefore fill up the space allowed us, by extracting a masterly sketch of Mr Hume's character, as a metaphysical writer. Every reader, we presume, will thank us for the exchange.

'That he was an acute thinker, on those subjects to which the vague name of Metaphysics is commonly given, there was, probably, no one, even of his least candid antagonists, who would have ventured to deny. That he was also an exact and perspicuous metaphysical writer, has been generally admitted, but it has been admitted, chiefly as a consequence of the former praise, or from the remembrance of powers of style, which, in many other respects, he unquestionably possessed. We think of him, perhaps, as an historian, while we are praising him as a metaphysician; or in praising him as a metaphysician, we think of qualities, necessary indeed for the detection of error, but different from those which the development of the system of truths of an abstruse and complicated science peculiarly requires.

'In the philosophy of mind, where the objects are all dim and fleeting, it is the more necessary to remedy, as much as possible, by regular progressive inquiry, and methodical arrangement, and precision of terms, the uncertainty that might otherwise flow from the shadowy nature of the inquiry itself. The speculations of Mr. Hume, however, as I conceive, are far from being marked with this sort of accuracy. The truths, which his acuteness is quick to find and to present to us, rather flit before our eyes in gleamy coruscation, than fling on the truths which follow them that harmonizing lustre, which makes each in progressive illumination more radiant by the brightness that preceded it, and more fit therefore to reflect new radiance on the brightness which is to follow. The genius of his metaphysical style,—discursive and

rapid, and sometimes in consequence of that very rapidity of transition, slow in its general results, from the necessity of recurring to points of inquiry that have been negligently abandoned,—is not of the kind that seems best fitted for close and continuous investigation: and though, in the separate views which he gives us of a subject, we are often struck with the singular acuteness of his discernment, and as frequently charmed with an ease of language, which, without the levity of conversation, has many of its playful graces, still, when we consider him as the expositor of a theory, we are not less frequently sensible of a want of rigid order and precision, for which subtlety of thought and occasional graces of the happiest diction are not adequate to atone.

'It is when we wish to unfold a system of truths, that we are most careful to exhibit them progressively, in luminous order: for, in the exposure of false opinions, the error, whatever it may be, which we wish to render manifest, may often be exhibited as successfully, by varied views of it in its different aspects, as by the closest analytical investigation. The want of strict, continuous method in some of the theoretical parts of Mr. Hume's metaphysical essays,—in which we discover more easily what he wishes us not to believe, than what he wishes us positively to believe, or in which, at least, the limits of the doubtful and the true are not very precisely defined to our conception,—may thus, perhaps, in part be traced to the habits of refined scepticism, in which it seems to have been the early and lasting passion of Mr. Hume's mind to indulge. It was more in the detection of fallacies in the common systems of belief, than in the discovery of truths, which might be added to them, that he loved to exercise his metaphysical ingenuity; or, rather, the detection of fallacies was that species of discovery of truth, in which he chiefly delighted. There is, indeed, a calm, yet ever wakeful scepticism of an inquisitive mind, which has nothing in it that is unfavourable, either to closeness of reasoning in the discovery of truth, or to exactness of theoretical arrangement, in the communication of it to others. Such a spirit is even so essential to every sort of intellectual inquiry, that the absence of it in any one may be considered as a sufficient proof, that he has not the genius of a metaphysician: for the science of metaphysics, as it regards the mind, is, in its most important respects, a science of analysis; and we carry on our analysis, only when we suspect that what is regarded by others as an ultimate principle, admits of still finer evolution into principles still more elementary. It is not, therefore, by such doubts as have only further inquiry in view, that the intellectual character is in any danger of being vitiated: but there is a very great difference between

the scepticism which examines every principle, only to be sure that inquiry has not terminated too soon, and that which examines them, only to discover and proclaim whatever apparent inconsistencies may be found in them. Astonishment, indeed, is thus produced; and it must be confessed, that there is a sort of triumphant delight in the production of astonishment, which it is not easy to resist, especially at that early period of life,* when the love of fame is little more than the love of instant wonder and admiration. But he who indulges in the pleasure, and seeks, with a sportful vanity of acuteness, to dazzle and perplex, rather than enlighten, will find, that though he may have improved his quickness of discernment, by exercises of nice and unprofitable subtlety, he has improved it at the expense of those powers of patient investigation, which give to dialectic subtlety its chief value.

'The perpetual consideration of the insufficiency of all inquiry, as deduced from inconsistencies which may seem to be involved in some of our principles of belief, is more encouraging to indolence than to perseverance. By representing to us error, as the necessary termination of every speculative pursuit, it seems, at every moment, to warn us not to proceed so far; and tends, therefore, to seduce the faculties into a luxurious slothfulness of occupation, which prefers a rapid succession of brilliant paradoxes, to truths of more extensive and lasting utility, but of more laborious search.

'To shew that it is not from any logical inference, or direct induction, we have derived many of those opinions which, by the very constitution of our nature, it is impossible for us not to hold, and which have been formed without any thought of their origin, requires indeed superior perspicuity, but does not require any process of long continued reasoning. The very habit of ratiocination is thus apt to yield to a love of briefer exercises of discursive subtlety; and this tendency, when the scepticism relates to moral and religious subjects, is still increased by the popular odium attached to infidelity, in those great articles of general belief,—an odium, which may naturally be supposed to induce the necessity, in many cases, of exhibiting subjects only by glimpses, and of hinting, rather than fully developing and enforcing a proof.

'A mind that has long been habituated to this rapid and lively species of remark, and that has learned to consider all inquiries as of doubtful evidence, and their results therefore as all equally or nearly equally satisfactory or unsatisfactory, does not readily

* 'We are told by Mr. Hume, that the Treatise on Human Nature was projected by him before he had left college.'

submit to the regularity of slow disquisition. It may exhibit excellencies, for which we may be immediately led to term it, with the justest commendation, acute, or subtle, or ingenious: but it will not be in many cases that there will be reason to ascribe to it that peculiar quality of intellect, which sees, through a long train of thought, a distant conclusion, and, separating at every stage the essential from the accessory circumstances, and gathering and combining analogies as it proceeds, arrives at length at a system of harmonious truth. This comprehensive energy is a quality to which acuteness is necessary, but which is not itself necessarily implied in acuteness; or rather it is a combination of qualities, for which we have not yet an exact name, but which forms a peculiar character of genius, and is, in truth, the very guiding spirit of all philosophic investigation.

'That a long indulgence in the ingenuities of scepticism, though it may improve mere dialectic acuteness, has a tendency to deaden, if I may so term it, the intellectual perception of the objects on which it is wisdom to rest, and, by flinging the same sort of doubtful light over truth and error, to make error often appear as worthy of assent as truth,—at least if the error happen to be in any doctrine of the sceptic himself,—is, I think, what our knowledge of some of the strongest principles of the mind might naturally lead us to expect. That the evil, of which I speak, is truly to be found in the metaphysical speculations of Mr. Hume, I may be wrong, indeed, in supposing; but, if any part of his abstract writings be marked with it, there is none, I conceive, in which it is so conspicuous, as in those which relate to the subject that has been now under review. While he appears only as the combatant of error, in exposing the inadequacy of perception or mere reasoning to afford us directly any notion of the necessary connexion of events, it is impossible not to feel the force of the negative arguments which he urges, and equally impossible not to admire the acuteness and vigor of intellect which these display. But when, after these negative arguments, he presents to us opinions on the subject, which he wishes us to receive as positive truth, a very slight consideration is all that seems necessary to show, how strong the self-illusive influence must have been, that could make these opinions, unwarranted as they are by the evidence of observation or consciousness, appear to his own mind worthy of the credit which he expects to be given to them. It is fortunate for his intellectual character, that it is not as a dogmatist only, he has given us opportunities of knowing him. The minor theories involved in his doctrine of the origin of the notion of power, would certainly give a very unfavourable impression of his talents as a metaphysical inquirer; if his reputa-

tion as a metaphysician were to be founded wholly on this or other positive doctrines maintained by him, and not on the acuteness with which, in many brilliant exercises of sceptical subtlety, he has exhibited what he wishes to be considered as errors in the systems of popular and scientific faith.' p. 338.

Before dismissing our author, we shall venture to offer one or two strictures on the leading doctrine and definition in his book.

We apprehend that both himself and Mr. Hume have overlooked an essential element which enters into our idea of a cause, and which, if introduced into their definition, would at least have made it more easily comprehended and received. *A cause*, Dr. Brown defines to be, *that which immediately precedes any change*, &c. This definition involves only *immediate succession*, or *proximity in time*. Is not *contiguity in place* equally a part of our notion of causation? Must not the antecedent in our idea be locally *present* with the consequent? It is an axiom, which, at its very first announcement, every body,—child—peasant—philosopher—believes and acknowledges, that no power can act where it is not present. It is true we have an idea of remote causes, as well as proximate causes. But every remote cause is always supposed to act upon something immediately near, and then that something to act upon another as immediately near it, and so on, till we arrive in idea to the proximate cause, which, to produce the last effect, is believed to be near it, even to immediate contiguity. We think that the omission of this idea has led Dr. Brown as well as Mr. Hume into considerable embarrassment, when they came to apply their principle to the innumerable *coexisting sequences* of phenomena, which at every moment are taking place throughout nature. They have both left that point in an unsatisfactory state, Mr. Hume to Dr. Brown, and Dr. Brown to us. If nothing more than immediate precession in time is admitted into our idea of causation, then, why is not the acorn, which is planted at the same time with the cherry-stone, regarded as the cause of the fruit-tree, as much as it is of the oak? Admit into your definition the necessary circumstance of immediate contiguity in place, as well as immediate precession in time, and you escape from this objection. We are aware that Dr. Brown has in a manner provided against it by a somewhat cumbrous and not

* Supposed! Yes, and a thousand things are supposed, which are not facts. It is remarkable that a man, pretending to understand the philosophy of Dr Brown, should thus talk in direct contradiction to it and to his own assertions. It is a mere assumption that contiguity in place belongs to our notion of causation. The

very easily comprehended paraphrase. After beginning his definition, by declaring a cause to be that which immediately precedes any change, he adds, *and which, existing at any time in similar circumstances, has been always, and will be always, immediately followed by a similar change.* We would not exclude this portion of the definition, but would only submit, whether the introduction of contiguity of place as well as proximity in time would not have imparted to the definition more precision, universality, and tangibility.

That this circumstance of *immediate contact* always forms part of our strict and simple notion of causation, the more we reflect upon it, the more we are inclined to believe. We wish, therefore, that Dr. Brown had called in this idea,* and wrought it up throughout his treatise in his own admirable manner. It is possible, that in so wishing, we do not look round and through the subject with the comprehensive survey of thorough-going theorists. Yet we cannot but think, that the proposed improvement would have materially assisted him in keeping his main object in view, and prevented many laborious circumlocutions in fortifying his positions against a throng of difficulties and objections, that perpetually arose upon him as he advanced.

Our author in the definition before us, seems to us to have revealed just so much of the truth, as is conveyed in telling a man in what parallel of latitude his ship is sailing on the ocean. Had he brought in the circumstance of contiguity in place, we think that this would have been like drawing his line of longitude; it would have reduced the difficulty to a specific certain point, and given to our floating, mysterious idea of a cause a fixed, intelligible, and definite relation. Observe too, that the obnoxious notion of an *invisible link** would be equally excluded by this as by the other form.

What then would be *our* definition? *A cause is that which immediately precedes and is immediately present at any change.* If very hardly pushed, we might call in the closing phraseology of our author's definition. Yet we think we could do without it.

Will our readers briefly analyse this our definition along

* When our author speaks of the term *bond of connexion* as being adopted to express proximity in time, it is remarkable that he did not perceive how much more appropriate it is to imply proximity in place. See page 407.

* Will the writer allow that the causes of the tides are in the sun and moon? And if there be no invisible link between them and the ocean, what becomes of his idea of contiguity in place between cause and effect?

with us? Think of any change, any phenomenon whatever. Think now of an object or event which is in so close a proximity to it as to exclude the contact of every thing else existing. If this object or event exist in this closest contiguity immediately previous to the change; what else is your idea of a *cause?*

We had intended to couple with this article a 'Sketch of a System of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Part First, comprehending the Physiology of the Mind.' This work constitutes the outlines of a part of Dr. Brown's Lectures, and was printed last year for the use of his pupils. But had time and the length of the foregoing article permitted us to notice this original and curious volume, an advertisement in England, announcing, as we have been informed, the publication of the author's Lectures at large in four volumes, would have induced us to postpone our design.

ART. XXIII.—*Ensayo de la historia Civil del Paraguay, Buenos-Ayres, y Tucuman, escrita por el doctor D. Gregorio Funes, dean de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Cordova.*—Tom. 3. 8vo. Buenos-Ayres, 1816—1817.

CAUSES, into which we have not time now to enter much in detail, have prevented the momentous drama performing in South America from engaging its due share of the public interest in this country. It might have been thought that, to us at least in the United States, few subjects of a political nature would have awakened a wider sympathy, than the character and probable results of the contests for independence in the South. But it must not be forgotten that the practical statesman has very little concern with those feelings and associations, which belong, in a considerable degree, to the region of sentiment. That Buenos Ayres and Mexico are a part of our continent may suggest fine themes for general declamation and poetry is true; but if, notwithstanding this, our political and commercial relations with them are insignificant, compared with those we stand in with the European states; if it is of far more importance to us to command the respect of those, who bear sway on the banks of the Thames or of the Neva, than to be hailed as brethren along all the banks of the Amazon and the La Plata; and

as to the mere point of geographical proximity, if it would be easier, as we imagine is the fact, to sail from New York and make the grand tour of all the courts of Europe and return to the Narrows, than to make a similar tour by land to our sister states in South America, then all the appeals resting on the community of the American name, or the partnership of one continent are fallacious. Europe and Asia are also one continent; and the Russian emperor's heart appears to be open to all that tender interest in the oriental world, which this fact must naturally excite. He would fain have his banners floating on the towers of Tefliz, and we question not he feels grieved to think that the great wall of China should sunder those, who inhabit the same hemisphere. The British sovereigns of India feel this tender sentiment; and are rejoiced to find that there is a practicable pass through the defiles of the Himala. Had not such a pass been discovered, we doubt not their India boards and their governors general would have imitated the example of the illustrious Prussian explorer of the Andes, who wept when he heard that the summits of Bunderpouch overtopped the heights of Chimborazo;—a geographical question by the way which we regard as far from settled.

The truth is, that the policy, which has been at various times most powerfully recommended in the United States, of a vigorous inteference on our part, in the South American contest, is a policy highly anti-republican; a policy which has wasted Europe from the middle ages to the present day. We have no concern with South America: we have no sympathy, we can have no well founded political sympathy with them. We are sprung from different stocks, we speak different languages, we have been brought up in different social and moral schools, we have been governed by different codes of law, we profess radically different forms of religion. Should we espouse their cause, they would borrow our money and grant commissions to our privateers, and possibly extend some privileges to our trade, if the fear of the English, which bringeth a snare, did not prevent this. But they would not act in our spirit, they would not follow our advice, they could not imitate our example. Not all the treaties we could make, nor the commissioners we could send out, nor the money we could lend them, would transform their Pueyrredons and their Artigases, into Adamses or Franklins or their

Bolivars into Washingtons. The state of society and of life among them forbids our feeling a sympathy with them. How can our thrifty regular merchants sympathize with a people, who send the letter post down the river, on the back of a swimmer? how can our industrious frugal yeomen sympathise with a people that sit on horseback to fish? how can our mild and merciful people, who went through their revolution without shedding a drop of civil blood, sympathize with a people, that are hanging and shooting each other in their streets, with every fluctuation of their ill organized and exasperated factions? It does not yet appear that there exist in any of those provinces the materials and elements of a good national character; of a character to justify our putting our own interests at hazard, by interfering in their present contests. We know not in fact whence such materials and elements could come. Certainly not from Spain and Portugal, the nations of Europe, that have sunk most into arrears, in the great account of humanity, and who have been labouring with causes of degeneracy too powerful and too active at home, to allow them to send out any life and character to their distant provinces. And if the elements of a good national character were not likely to be imported from the mother country, what one propitious circumstance has there been for forming it on the spot? The various tyrannies, political, feudal, and ecclesiastical of Europe, are the auspices under which these provinces have grown up; and in many of them the seductions of equatorial and tropical climates, and the possession of the mines of the precious metals have come in aid of human oppression, to insure the degeneracy of the inhabitants. We are not fond of deducing practical results from theoretical causes, apparently visionary, however obvious and marked the coincidence, which seems to authorize the deduction; but we hold it to be a maxim clearly established in the history of the world, that none but the temperate climates, and the climates which produce and retain the European complexion of skin in its various shades, admit of the highest degrees of national character. In no Asiatic region, that falls without this condition and in no African one, has any thing like a free populace discovered itself, in any permanent civilized organization, at any period. Flashes of genius appear in these regions, particularly in those where the *nomadic* life prevails; powerful individual

minds are formed and produce powerful effects, successful conquerors wield to the dismay of the world the mighty instrument of an uninquiring, unreasoning military populace, but all their achievements are as changeable and fickle as the abodes in the deserts. They vary with all the accidents of the personal qualities of their shahs, and rajahs, and sultans; nor do they acquire any permanence till they come in contact with the European politics, whose balance is often concerned, to sustain their tottering thrones. This state of things in the old world authorizes an inference with respect to a part at least of the new. We know not what there is in our torrid zones and vertical suns, in our groves of oranges and plantations of coffee, in our islands of sugar, in our regions of dark ornamental woods, of golden plumages, cactuses, crocodiles, and boa constrictors, in our beds of gold, silver, and diamonds, to exempt them from the political fortunes, infallibly attendant on these natural properties in the old world. We see not why the lord of a Brasilian drove of horses and horned cattle is to differ from the chief of an Arabian herd of camels and dromedaries. A blazing sun must be as relaxing at Rio Janerio as at Mocha; and Calno is not more like Carchemish, than Serro do Frio* is like Golconda, or Cuba like Ceylon. The same causes produce the same effects; and we question whether the pure breezes, which gave their name to Buenos-Ayres, have any thing in them powerful enough to animate the mass of the inhabitants, at least of the interior of the province, with a true spirit of independence. South America will be to North America, we are strongly inclined to think, what Asia and Africa are to Europe. Providence gives not all to one region, and though it is a beautiful vision of philosophy, that all the sorts and forms of good

* 'Here the Forbidden District of the Diamonds is in sight: and its appearance is such as might form a fit description in eastern romance, for the land, where the costliest and proudest ornaments of wealth and power are found. Innumerable peaks are seen, some of prodigious height; mountains of bare rock and perpendicular elevation; others of more perishable materials, and in a state of dissolution like the Alps of Savoy; with brush-wood growing among the grass, and a sort of grey moss, which clothes the surface wherever it is not newly scarred or covered with recent wreck; a scene of Alpine grandeur and Alpine desolation, but, in one respect, of more than Alpine beauty, for the waters are beautifully clear: they fall in sheets, in threads, in cataracts, and make their way, sometimes by subterranean channels, to the four larger rivers, which carry off the waters of the district.' *Southey's history of Brazil*, iii. 234.

seek and tend to each other, and will finally, in a perfect system of things, meet and coincide; yet it is not so with the states and kingdoms, as they now exist, and mankind hath ever made its greatest political, intellectual, and moral advances, we will not say where it has had most to struggle with, but we will say where it has had least to be corrupted with; and we believe the isothermal lines of character might be drawn with nearly as much precision as those of temperature.

When we look at the events which have been transpiring in South America now for twelve or thirteen years, we find nothing to inspire better sentiments with regard to it. A time has now elapsed, since the first rising in the Spanish colonies, equal to that, which elapsed from the declaration of the American independence to the adoption of the federal constitution. And though in the rapid succession of revolutions and reports of revolutions, and in the inextricable perplexity of the contradictory accounts we are constantly receiving from South America, it is really difficult not only to learn exactly, but even to conjecture the true position of things, it may perhaps safely be affirmed, that if the return of the old *regime* is rendered desperate, it is not yet shown that any thing better is not hopeless. In Mexico, the revolution appears to be stationary, and in Brazil they have exchanged a viceroy for a king. In the other provinces where at times an independent organization of government has seemed to be best consolidating itself, nothing has been effected, on which it is safe to calculate as permanent. Too much time has passed to have things still in this state, were there existing in these regions the *membra disjecta* of liberty. It is more than time that ferments were settled, first prejudices gotten over, and the serious difficulties which ever attend a change done away, and if there were much that is good, solid, and disinterested in the mass of the community, it is time that it disclosed and manifested itself.

We say not this reproachfully. We know many difficulties, with which they have had to struggle; and there are doubtless others which we do not know. But some of these difficulties—and those the most serious ones—are the very points in the nature of these regions, and consequent character of their inhabitants, to which we have already alluded, and which ought to make us wary of any entangling alliance with them.

Neither do we make these remarks as justifying a general system of political indifference ; or as if there really were no such thing between nations, as disinterestedness or moral sympathy ; though every body knows, that in general these are names, which only hold their places on the vocabulary of state by courtesy, and as convenient appellations for very different things. We have not, moreover, forgotten our own struggles and trials ; nor how we kneeled and knocked at all the courts of the continent, and begged for a little Dutch money and a few French troops. But it was not these European charities by which we achieved our independence ; and however they might have promoted its achievement in the particular series of events by which it was brought about, there is no doubt that it would have happened by other instruments, if not by these. It must be remembered too, before any good omen is drawn from the analogy of our revolution, that political liberty or independence on a foreign government is distinct from social liberty, or the individual independence of the members, or the classes of society. It is this latter, which is the main element and substance of liberty ; and without this, the question of independence of a foreign crown is one of little moment. Of what consequence is it to the Albanian peasant, whether the Pasha, who consumes his substance, is or is not tributary to the Porte ? Of what consequence is it to the Polish serf, whether his lord be a subject of the Russian king, or an independent member of a native diet ? We, in North America, succeeded in achieving our political independence, because we had already the social and civil liberty, which is its best foundation. But had the population of these colonies consisted of a corrupt and mixed race of various shades and sorts of men ; had the feudal institutions, the seignories, and the services of the Gothic ages, divided the population into a wealthy aristocracy and a needy peasantry, not all our own provincial congresses, nor all the fleets and armies of Rochambeau and de Grasse, could have made us independent : nor if they could, would the independence have been worth having.

We have here alluded to a circumstance, which, in our apprehension, will for a long course of years, and perhaps forever, operate unfavourably on the South American character. The population consists of natives of Europe, and of their descendants born in the country ; of Indians civilized or un-

reclaimed, in different degrees of mixed blood; and of Africans and their descendants, or negroes and mulattoes. The character of the population will of course vary in the different provinces, but such, in general, is its composition. The different shades of the mixed Indian blood are thus defined by Dr. Funes in the work before us.

'1. The offspring of a European female and of a native American are called *Mestizos*. They are black [?] and the males of this first combination have beards, although the fathers, as is notorious, have none: still the children inherit this mark of the European stock, through their mothers.

2. From a European female and a *Mestizo* are born the *Quarteroons*; they have not so deep a shade of black, having but a fourth of the American blood.

3. Of a European female and a *Quarteroon* are born the *Octavoons*.

4. Of a European female and an *Octavoon* spring a race which the Spaniards call *Puchuela*; it is wholly white, and cannot be distinguished from the European.' i. 63.

We need here no long reasonings on the well known degeneracy of the superior race in such a mixture of blood; and yet this is not half the statement of what really prevails; for there are the similar mixtures of African and European, and African and Indian blood, and of all these races with each other. Nor do we see upon what principles of human nature any high national spirit, or even any ordinary political concert can exist under such heterogeneous and odious confusions of Spanish bigotry and indolence, with savage barbarity and African stupidity; allowing merely an ordinary share of these qualities in the respective races.

But we are unwilling to enlarge on a topic somewhat ungracious, and are disposed to acquiesce in one part of the remark of Mr. Southey, at the close of his last elaborate and instructive chapter on the state of Brazil, that 'no general character of the manners and morals of a people, under such differences of climate, country, and surrounding circumstances, could be offered without presumptuousness and manifest injustice;' while we must dissent from the succeeding clause, and that too on the authority of his own ample collections on the state of the country,—'that a firm foundation of power and prosperity has been laid, which nothing but the most extreme and obstinate misconduct on the part of the government,

or the most blind and culpable impatience on the part of the people, can subvert.' Mr. Southey, it is true, speaks here exclusively of Brazil. What will be the effect of this first experiment of an American monarchy on the good old European foundation of the *jus divinum* it were vain to conjecture; and the accounts, which we receive from the Brazilian capital, are contradictory, as to the spirit and practical operation of the government. There seems to be a considerable attention to literature; though what is now achieved in that department is, of course, for the most part transplanted Portuguese learning. We have before us a memorandum from the Abbé Corea of a series of works published at Rio Janeiro between June and October 1819, which we think may interest our readers.

'1. Topographical and historical memoir on the district of Goaytacazes, with an account of its productions, trade, &c. by M. J. de Silva Porto. 4to.

'2. The sixth and last volume of the history of the kingdom of Brazil. 8vo.

'3. Pindaric odes, by Mr. Osorio, judge of the district and province of Bahia.

4. Memoir on the happy political effects of the administration of the king in the Brazils, and a sketch of his legislation.

'5. Sermons of the Rev. Mr. Seixas, prebendary of the cathedral of Para, and regius professor of philosophy.

'6. Mr. Pizarro, king's chaplain, and a dignitary of the church of Rio Janeiro, proposes to publish by subscription an elaborate work, in nine volumes, 8vo, entitled Historical Memoirs of the city and province of Rio Janeiro.

'The second of these works is anonymous, and appears to be the joint production of many authors. It is illustrated with notes and engravings.'

But we have delayed too long to mention the work before us. It is a history, in three ample and well printed octavo volumes, of the provinces of Buenos-Ayres, Tucuman, and Paraguay, lately written and printed in Buenos-Ayres. The typography is extremely decent, and if the portait of the author, in the first volume, be an indigenous engraving, they are ripe for independence, as far as the fine arts are concerned. No city in the United States, till a very recent period, could boast of as good execution.

The work of Dr. Funes appears to have been first made

known to the American public in the documents communicated to the president of the United States, and by him to congress, by our commissioners, on their return from South America in 1818. Among these documents is 'an historical sketch of the revolution of the United provinces of South America, from the 25th of May 1810, until the opening of the national congress on the 25th of March 1816, written by Don Gregorio Funes, and appended to his history of Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, and Tucuman.' Mr. Rodney, in referring to this sketch, informs us, that it was drawn up in part at the request of our commissioners. In the course of his letter Mr. Rodney also mentions the history before us with just commendation, in a passage which, as it contains some hints as to the state of literature in that region, we take the liberty of recalling to the recollection of our readers.

'There are no prohibited books of any kind; all are permitted to circulate freely or to be openly sold by the booksellers: among them is the New Testament, in Spanish. This alone is a prodigious step toward the emancipation of their minds from prejudices. There are several bookstores, whose profits have rapidly increased; a proof that the number of readers has augmented in the same proportion. There had been a large importation of English books, a language becoming daily more familiar to them. Eighty years ago, the mechanic art of printing was scarcely known at Buenos-Ayres; at present there are three printing offices; one of them very extensive, containing four presses. The price of printing is notwithstanding at least three times higher, than in the United States. But as there is no trade or intercourse with Spain, all school books used in the country, some of them original, are published at Buenos-Ayres. There are many political essays which, instead of being inserted in the newspapers, are published in loose sheets; there are also original pamphlets, as well as republications of foreign works. The constitution of the United States, and of the different states, together with a very good history of our country, and many of our most important state papers, are widely circulated. The work of dean Funes, the venerable historian of the country, comprised in three large octavo volumes, considering the infancy of the typographic art in this part of the world, may be regarded as an undertaking of some magnitude.'*

Mr. Wheaton, in his excellent discourse before the New York Historical Society, characterises the history of Dr. Funes as a classical work, and Mr. Southey, in the preface

* Message of the President and accompanying documents, Nov. 17, 1818; pages 31, 32.

to the third volume of his history of Brazil, mentions having consulted it; though we do not find it quoted till the middle of the volume.

The history of Dr. Funes does not descend to the late revolutions. These form the subject merely of the appendix to the third volume, of which we have just given the title, and which, in the report of our commissioners, is brought down as low as the battle of Maipu, April 1817. It appears from this sketch that Dr. Funes has himself been one of the revolutionary leaders. He informs us that he was of a junta, which assembled at Cordova in the beginning of the revolution, and which, under the instigation of Liniers, resisted its progress, as a criminal enterprise against the state. The Dean opposed their views, but unsuccessfully. He justly congratulates himself on his greater success, after the party of Liniers was overthrown and himself and his associates made prisoners, in delaying for a time their sacrifice to the popular cause. This forbearance, however, was thought indiscreet by the government, and it was found expedient to put them to death.

'The blockade of the capital, by the Royal Marine from Monte Video, the intrigues of the European Spaniards ever on the alert, in fine, opinions in favour of Liniers whispered among our troops, the companions of his dangers and of his glory, compelled the government to choose between the death of these conspirators and the ruin of dawning liberty. Placed in this dilemma, from a sense of duty, it did violence to its feelings, and confirmed the sentence, excepting in the part, which related to the bishop Orellana. Thus died prematurely men, who, in other times, might have been useful citizens.'*

In 1810, Dr. Funes was sent as a deputy by the city of Cordova to the capital, and mentions it as one of the causes of the discontents and dissensions, prevailing among the friends of liberty at that time, that those, who with himself, at the invitation of the junta at Buenos-Ayres, had been elected deputies by the provinces, had not been admitted to a share in the government. The brother of our author, Don Antonio Funes, has acted a still more distinguished part in the political events of the day. In 1816 he was made governor of Cordova at a time, when that province was in the most disordered state. He had already sacrified to the cause most of his

* President's message and documents, p. 49.

property, consisting of estates in Peru, which had been confiscated by the royalists, and two promising sons in the flower of their youth, who had fallen in the patriot armies. Having been nominated by the national congress to fill the important post of governor of Cordova, he discovered either the stern fidelity of a Roman, or the fierce exasperation of civil warfare. The city of Cordova was then occupied by Bulnes, the son-in-law of Antonio Funes. Bulnes having been defeated by the latter, with the aid of the reinforcements marched by colonel Sayos from Tucuman, the unrelenting father-in-law, instead of satisfying himself with the rout and flight of his son, caused him to be pursued, taken, and surrendered to the tribunals. 'The cause of Bulnes,' says his uncle the doctor, 'was subjected *to the legal forms*, by order of the congress.' These legal forms are those gentle ceremonies, which the Roman father ratified toward his son with the 'I, lictor, colliga manus.' It is the recurrence of these dreadful scenes in the whole course of the South American contest, which are the worst omens for its success.

Dr. Funes appears to have approached the undertaking of a general history of these provinces after diligent preparation in the study of the previous works in the same department. We extract the following passage from the preface for the sake of the literary notices which it contains.

'No one versed in the history of these provinces can be ignorant that Herrera, Diego of Cordova, Antonio Calancha, Juan Melendez, Alonso de Zamora, Fathers Alonso de Ulloa, Francisco Colin, Simon Vasconcelos and Manuel Rodriguez, as well as the historians in the collection of Barica, either relate, some more concisely than others, certain events in these provinces or confine themselves exclusively to the incidents of the conquest. The Argentina Manuscript of Ruiz Diaz is equally limited to this period. After them, the history of these provinces was treated with greater diligence by the Jesuits Juan Pastor, Nicolas Zecho, Pedro Cano, Pedro Lesana, Pedro Lozano, Guevara, Sanchez Labrador and Charlevoix. The works of Charlevoix and that of Zecho, although circulated in print, besides that the former is in French and the latter in Latin, and that they both treat only incidentally the civil events connected with the history of their missionary establishments, were equally of course unable to come down to our days. The other works, excepting these two, being left unpublished, are either not at all or very rarely to be met with.' *Prologo* II.

It was our design to have given something like an analysis of this history, and to have presented our readers with an abstract of three very interesting chapters, in the second volume, relating the history of the insurrection in Peru, in the last century under Tupac-Amaru, a descendant of the Incas. But we have been obliged to cut our article short, to make way for other topics, which seemed to us of more moment; and we take leave of the subject of South America for the present, with the design of reverting to it frequently in our future numbers.

ART. XXIV.—*Thoughts on Political economy, in two parts, by Daniel Raymond, Counsellor at law.* Baltimore, Fielding Lucas, jr. 1820. 8vo, pp. 470.

IT would have been no derogation from the merit of this work, had it appeared before the public with humbler pretensions. It condemns the systems and reasonings of the most eminent writers on the same subject, in language by no means courteous, lays claim to complete originality, and takes pains to express an utter contempt for all modern critics. The science of political economy is so little an object of popular attention, and has really made so much progress unobserved by the community, that the student, on first engaging in it, is apt to be astonished at the result of his inquiries, and to fancy that what is so new to him must be new to others. But in this as in other pursuits, the boast of superior wisdom does not arise from an excess of knowledge so often as from a want of it. It is also quite natural for a young author to try to quiet or conceal his fears of the critics, by shutting his eyes and turning his back upon them, like the ostrich hiding his head, and thinking he has escaped the hunters. Nothing can be more indiscreet than this; since it betrays the terror which it is designed to conceal, and might tempt a wanton or illnatured reviewer to sport with his dreaded authority, and make game of his victim. We have no such intention. The question is not what this writer thinks of critics, but what he thinks on political economy, and to this topic we shall confine our remarks.

No one can doubt the importance of using all terms of science in a known and definite sense, but it is too much to

conclude with this writer that an author does not understand the meaning of a word, because he does not, or even because he cannot formally define it. Many useful treatises have been written on the preservation of health and the prolongation of life, without defining life or health; and though the definition of *man* has been a desideratum among philosophers from the time of Plato to the present, speculations on our physical, moral or intellectual nature are not therefore more obscure or ambiguous. It is a much more common source of uncertainty and confusion, and one not sufficiently guarded against in the work before us, to use the same word in different senses. He who employs a new term, or an old term with a new meaning, ought indeed to define it; but it is far more important that he should always give it the same signification; for if it denote one thing in the premises of an argument and another in the conclusion, this is false reasoning, and proves nothing. We shall first call the attention of our readers to this author's definition of National Wealth.

'If we would have correct and clear notions of national wealth, we must be careful to keep in mind the distinct notion of a nation itself, and not confound it with the individuals or any portion of individuals of which that nation is composed; a thing that is often done by the best writers on political economy. It is indeed the prevailing error of every writer on the subject that I have read. While they profess to treat of national interests, they depart from the subject and treat of individual interests, or of the interests of some constituent part of the nation, which causes ambiguity and want of precision.'—'A nation, it is true, is an artificial being or a legal entity, composed of millions of natural beings, still it possesses all the properties and attributes of a being, which are as distinct and strongly marked as the properties and attributes of any natural being, and these must be constantly borne in mind, if we would reason correctly on the interests or rights of this being. A nation is a *unity*, and possesses all the properties of unity. It possesses a unity of rights, a unity of interests, and a unity of possessions; and he who professes to treat of the interests of this unity, but departs from them and treats of the interests of some constituent part of it, will just as certainly arrive at a wrong conclusion, as the arithmetician would, who in performing an algebraic computation should leave out one term of the equation. The interests of a nation and the interests of individuals composing that nation may be, it is true, and often are in unison. They may be identical, but they are not necessarily so; so far is this from

being the case, that they are often directly opposite. So national and individual wealth may be the same, but they are not necessarily so. It will be shewn hereafter that individual wealth is often national poverty, and I think I shall be able to show conclusively that the word wealth, as applied to individuals, never can with propriety be applied to a nation.' pp. 26—28.

If the author would imply that writers on political economy generally consider a nation to consist of a part of the individuals composing it, or the interest of any particular class to be always identified with that of the nation, he misunderstands them. Few have committed so gross an error. They uniformly admit a nation to be a unity, one body, but an aggregate body, consisting of all its members; so that if any one be impoverished, and neither the government nor any individual be at the same time benefitted or enriched, the nation on the whole is a loser. If, however, he intends to assert, as we suppose him to do, that all the individuals constituting a nation are not the nation, and the interests of all not the national interests, it must be admitted that he differs from most writers on this subject in his use of the term. A nation, considered as entirely distinct from the whole mass of individuals who compose it, must be, as he asserts, only an artificial being, a mere legal entity, differing from its citizens as a corporate body does from its members. To us at least the word conveys no third intelligible meaning, and we presume this to be the meaning of the author, for he elsewhere says, that 'in reality a nation is a corporation,' and ranks among political corporations 'nations as contra-distinguished from the individuals of whom they are composed.' p. 425.

In this sense the property of the nation is the property which it holds as a corporation to the exclusion of individuals, such as its public lands, the money in its treasury, its fleets and arsenals, and may undoubtedly be increased by taxes, which shall oppress and impoverish all the people. The national interests in this sense may often appear hostile to those of all the citizens. We have two objections to this definition. One, that to increase the property of the nation thus understood is the object not of political economy in general, but of the single department of finance; the other, that the author himself commonly uses the term and reasons from it in a different sense. Thus, he assumes throughout, that the interests of all individuals ought to yield to those of the

nation. But with his definition, this cannot be admitted. The nation, as a corporation, a mere legal being, is created solely for the good of all its members; it is a mere instrument to promote their happiness, and so far are its interests from being paramount to those of the whole people, that in well constituted governments they are universally made subservient to them.

Allowing the author, however, to define the word as he will, how does it help him to ascertain what is national wealth? 'Individual wealth,' he tells us, 'is the possession of property, for the use of which the owner can obtain a quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life;—a definition sufficiently accurate to show that he means to use the term in its ordinary acceptation. 'National wealth,' he defines 'to be a capacity for acquiring the necessaries and comforts of life.' But can a nation, as a corporation totally distinct from all those who compose it, have any wealth in this sense? What is meant by the capacity of this artificial corporate being independent of its property; and what by its necessaries and comforts of life? How can a mere legal entity have wants or enjoy comforts? To us the definition is utterly unintelligible, unless it signify the capacity of all the individuals constituting a nation to procure the necessaries and comforts of life for themselves; and if it mean this, then in this very definition, a nation is not regarded as a corporation distinct from all its members, but as an aggregate body consisting of them. Our objection to it thus understood is, that it is too extensive; including strength, intelligence and skill, which cannot with any propriety be termed wealth, though they are sources of it. And besides, if the word *capacity* is here designed to comprise the *means* of accomplishing the object proposed, which it must do, unless property is entirely excluded from the definition of national wealth, then it embraces the whole circle of the arts and sciences; for they are all means of supplying the wants and promoting the happiness of men, and political economy must treat of 'all things knowable.'

It may well treat of all studies and pursuits so far as they affect the wealth of the nation as an aggregate body or in its corporate capacity, but to make them directly and in all respects the objects of investigation, by calling them all national wealth, would tend to render our speculations on this subject

extremely vague and unsatisfactory. It is only by confining each science to some specific object, by a just and appropriate division of mental labour, that the boundaries of human knowledge can be much extended. The influence of religion on the security of property is fairly within the scope of political economy, but the investigation of its truth and its sanctions, essential as they are to human happiness, is no part of this science. For ourselves, we think the best definition of national wealth is that given by Say, and generally adopted, as we believe, by modern writers, according to which it includes the aggregate wealth of all the individuals composing the nation, together with that belonging to it as a corporate body. We are not aware that the phrase is ever used in the loose and indefinite sense assigned to it by our author, excepting in the Inquiry into the nature and origin of public wealth, by the Earl of Lauderdale, an author of whom it has somewhere been said, that he wrote a whole book to prove that he did not understand Adam Smith.

In the same work may be found the assertion, so much relied on in the book before us; that a nation cannot possess wealth in the same sense as an individual. It is readily admitted, that according to the letter of the definition of individual wealth quoted above, a nation as a corporation cannot possess it, since it can require no necessaries and enjoy no comforts. In common language, however, the wealth of a nation in its corporate capacity is the public property, that which is entrusted to the administration of the government; and surely it needs no argument to show that a nation considered as an aggregate body, or in other words, a number of individuals taken together, may have individual wealth. It is objected that they cannot sell any part of their lands to foreigners. This may be illegal and impolitic, but we know not that it is in the nature of things impossible. At any rate it is not denied that they may sell the produce of their lands, and in so doing they as effectually sell the use of them, as if they received rent for it.

The word *value* has embarrassed some of the best writers on political economy, and we do not think that our author has succeeded in his attempts to explain it. He states the important distinction established by Adam Smith, between value in use and value in exchange, and observes very justly, that the word *value*, when used without qualification, is now universally

understood in this science to signify the latter. The following remarks are taken from the third chapter.

'Value means the price or worth of a thing, and expresses the relative price which one thing bears to another, and is used only in exchanging one commodity for another. We cannot speak of the price or value of an article except in reference to an exchange of that article for some other. If a man exchange an orange for an apricot or a piece of money, he may estimate its value or price, and say it is of the value of the apricot or of the piece of money, but if the orange is for his own eating, he cannot estimate its value; the gratification of his appetite is not the subject of value, because it cannot be exchanged.'—'There are objects, to which the word value may be applied, but those objects are not the necessaries of life nor national wealth. I do not mean by this, that the word value cannot be applied to bread and meat; for among individuals where there is an abundance of these, and some have more and others less than they want, these things have a price and may be valued, as well as any thing else. If an individual has a greater quantity of wheat and beef than is necessary for his own consumption, he may exchange it for money or land, which increases his wealth, and it therefore has a value, but that which is necessary for his own subsistence can no more be valued, than his life can be valued. If the surplus wheat and beef could only be exchanged for something to gratify the appetite, or the vanity of the individual, it could not be the subject of value, unless the enjoyment of the individual in the gratification of his appetite and his vanity could be valued. So that portion of the net produce, which a nation consumes itself, can have no value, because the word value cannot be applied to it any more than to life or to enjoyment. If it has a surplus, and exchanges that surplus for commodities for its own consumption, still the word value cannot be applied, because this is but a different mode of consuming its net produce. If it exchanges its surplus produce for land or money, which it can rent or loan for a quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life, then this surplus so disposed of has a value, and this is the only portion of the net produce, that can with propriety be said to be the subject of value.' pp. 46—48.

'The necessaries of life have a value when we exchange them, that is, an exchangeable value.' p. 81.

The word value, it is here said, cannot be applied to national wealth. If by calling national wealth a capacity, our author would have it understood to be a mere power, independent of the means and instruments which it uses, and

would exclude from his definition all that is styled wealth in the ordinary acceptation of the term, then indeed it is not exchangeable and has no value; for no man or body of men can exchange their capacity. But if national wealth include the wealth of individuals, this may be exchanged. The necessaries of life we are told are not exchangeable. Why not? May not the spendthrift squander his substance and starve in the streets? May not an individual, who has only so much wheat and beef as he can consume, exchange them for something else, for potatoes and fish? Or shall we be told that the author means not necessaries in the concrete, but necessaries in the abstract, or be required to restrict the term to some specific thing, whose consumption is essential to the life of its possessor? We can only say then, that there is no such thing in the creation, and that necessaries in the abstract are as incapable of being consumed as exchanged.

What shall we say to the assertion, that an orange bought by a man for his own eating has no value? When it is eaten, indeed, it has no value, because it has no existence; but till it is consumed, it is capable of being exchanged, and has therefore a value. But the gratification of his appetite cannot be exchanged. What then? The gratification of his appetite is not the orange. The value of a thing does not depend on the fact of its being exchanged, still less on the intention of the possessor to keep or to exchange it, but on its being exchangeable. In the passage just cited, and in some others, value in use seems to us to be confounded with value in exchange, though the writer professes to observe the distinction between them. To a man who possesses only the articles of food requisite for his support, these are of inestimable value in use; the advantage, which he derives from their consumption, is incalculable; it is the support of his life, and no price can be put upon it. But their exchangeable value, the price for which they can be sold in the market, is a very different thing, and may be easily ascertained; nor has it any thing to do with the question, whether their owner has other means of subsistence or not. How would you make out a price-current, if the exchangeable value of commodities or their price, which is nothing but this value expressed in money, could be ascertained only by inquiring into the wealth or poverty of those who happened to have them in possession?

Whatever is appropriated by any person to himself exclusively is his property, and whatever may be thus appropriated is an object of property, but it is not necessarily valuable. The shell or the pebble, which the savage picks up on the sea-shore, the water he has scooped from the fountain, his seat in the sunshine are his property, yet they have no value, in the sense given the word in this science, unless they can be exchanged for something else. Property, which can be exchanged, has for that very reason a value; that, which cannot be, has none. The word denotes the relation of different things to each other considered as exchangeable, and in the absence of all comparison has no meaning. The value of an article consists in the power it gives its possessor to exchange it for others, and depends on the quantity of all others for which it can be exchanged. Having ascertained how much of several different commodities may be obtained in exchange for any one valuable thing, we can determine by arithmetical calculation, in what proportions they can be exchanged for each other. Hence, whatever has a value may be taken to measure the relative value of other things, as whatever has length may be made the measure of their relative length; and in determining the relative value of different things at the same time and place, whatever be the instrument by which they are severally measured, our conclusions will be perfectly correct. At a given time and place then, the best measure is the money in current use, whether it be wampum, cowries, or gold; because the relative value of articles is best ascertained by actual exchange, and the current money is exchanged for other commodities more frequently than any thing else.

But the problem, which has engaged the attention of writers on political economy, is to measure the relative value of the same thing at different times or places, not that of different things at the same. This object is accomplished by ascertaining the value of any thing at the one time and place, in proportion to that of any thing at the other; for each of these things may be used to measure the relative value of all commodities at one of these times and places, and the value of any commodity at one may be compared with its value at the other, by combining the relation it bears to each of these measures with the relation of the measures to each other. It is in truth measuring with two different instruments, whose

proportion to each other is known. Now, as the most convenient instrument for measuring the relative value of commodities in any one age and country, is its current money, we should first ascertain the relative value of given quantities of the monies current in the ages or countries to be compared, and then by combining the difference in the price of any commodity with the difference in the value of the currencies used to express its price, we may learn the difference in the value of that commodity. The relative value of these different currencies can only be determined by comparing them with some article, which is supposed to have the same value in both the times or places to be compared, and it is such an article, which has been so long sought under the name of a standard of value.

At the present day labour is not deemed, as it was by Smith, an invariable standard, and nothing else has ever been thought so. It is obvious that the best standard is that, with regard to which the circumstances producing changes of value are most nearly the same in the ages and countries to which it is to be applied. These circumstances are the cost of production, and the proportion between the supply and the demand. Changes in the first of these are deemed the sole cause of variations of value by Ricardo, and changes in the last by Malthus, but in our opinion a change in either of them, all other things being equal, may alter the value of any commodity. But however this may be, each of these writers must still allow that both circumstances should be taken into consideration in selecting a standard of value; for Ricardo admits that local and temporary variations may be produced by changes in the demand or supply, and how can we know that such have not occurred in one of the times or places which we would compare; or if Malthus be right in asserting that a change in the cost of producing any thing affects it value only as it has a contingent effect on the supply or demand, yet the best mode of estimating that effect is by examining its cause; and so, though changes in the cost of production be not the proximate cause of variations in value, they may be the surest indication of their extent.

If the inquiry be, what is the best standard of value to be applied to different countries having a free communication with each other at the same time, we should answer, the precious metals; not only because they are most frequently

exchanged for other commodities and therefore most convenient, but because their great value in proportion to their bulk renders them easy of transportation, so that we cannot suppose any great difference in the labour required to bring them to market in different countries; and the same circumstance together with their general use prevents any great difference in countries having an intercourse with each other in the proportion between the supply and the demand. But in comparing the value of any commodity in Europe now with its value five hundred years ago, the precious metals are not a good standard. When we are informed that the wages paid for a day's labour in the time of Edward II. were one penny, how can we tell what was the condition of the labourer or the value of his wages, till we have inquired what this penny would buy? Both the truth and importance of this consideration may be illustrated by the story told of lord treasurer Burleigh and sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state in the reign of queen Elizabeth. Observing, it is said, how greatly the relative value of the precious metals had fallen, and desiring to uphold the revenues of the colleges, they procured an act of parliament to be passed, providing that one third of the old rent then paid on college leases should in future be reserved in wheat or malt; and it is found, to the credit of their sagacity, that though the corn rents were originally only one third of the whole, or half the value of the rents reserved in money, yet now they are in common years worth twice as much.

One of the best standards for ascertaining what change has taken place in the value of any commodity in England in the course of the last four or five centuries, is wheat at its price in ordinary years; because the labour required to produce it has not greatly changed, and since it was then, and still is a principal article of food, the supply on an average bears nearly the same proportion to the demand. For the same purpose labour is an equally good standard, though we hardly dare to assert with Smith, that equal labour requires in every age and climate, and among every people, the same effort. If it were desired to compare the value of an article in a country whose inhabitants lived by the chase, with its value in the same country when they should become civilized and should support themselves by agriculture, neither game, which from being a necessary of life would

have become a luxury, nor wheat, which from a luxury would have become a necessary, could be a proper standard of value. So if we would compare the value of any commodity in a fertile region just opened to the tide of emigration, and where of course the demand for labour must greatly exceed the supply, with its value in the same country at a subsequent period, when it was swarming with inhabitants, labour would be a bad standard. Malthus proposes a mean between corn and labour as a standard, and undoubtedly the greater the number of articles assumed to correct our measures of value, if these articles are well chosen, the better. But abandoning the idea of a universal standard of value, the question what is the best and most convenient, in any case, cannot be determined, unless we know for what particular purpose it is to be used.

But to return to our author; one of the discoveries to which he attaches the most importance is, that the earth is the only source, and labour the only cause of national wealth; but he informs us that we are not here to understand by national wealth a capacity, according to his own definition of the term, since the earth cannot be called the source of strength and skill, or of the arts and sciences. He explains his meaning to be, that the earth is the source or fountain whence we derive the necessaries and comforts of life; so that national wealth here denotes the necessaries and comforts of life. But to render the proposition correct, the term must be still further restricted to material things, for in what sense can the earth be styled the fountain of poetry and music, which he expressly admits to be comforts of life; and even with this restriction a claim may be put in on behalf of the sun, whose light and heat are material and as essential to vegetation as the soil. Nor can the atmosphere be excluded. Taking the earth then to signify the world we inhabit and all that it contains, it is undoubtedly true that it is the only source of wealth, meaning thereby material property. But to what does the proposition thus explained amount? Simply, if we comprehend it, to this; that man cannot adapt to his use nor render valuable any thing but what actually exists in the world; cannot create new matter, but only appropriate and modify what is already created; and that he cannot do even this, without some exertion. The assertion will not be denied, but we are quite at a loss to discover what useful deduction can be drawn from it.

This author follows Ganilh and some others in condemning Smith's distinction between productive and unproductive labour; but, if we may judge from the following remarks, is not aware of the precise object of that distinction.

'I say, on the contrary, that all labour is productive, which causes any of the necessaries or comforts of life; nor do I restrict the necessaries and comforts of life to food and clothing, but extend the meaning of the words so as to include every thing, which is useful to man as a member of civil society, or which contributes to his innocent enjoyment and happiness. To call the highest exertion of intellectual power for the promotion of human happiness unproductive labour, is a gross abuse of language and an unpardonable degradation of the benefactors of mankind. We are gravely told that a man who wields the spade or throws the shuttle is a productive labourer, while Bacon, Newton and Washington were unproductive labourers.'—'The occupations of the poet, the painter and musician are productive, because their labour produces innocent enjoyment, but if perverted and employed in disseminating immorality, vice or lewdness, they become unproductive, because useless, or injurious to society.' pp. 204, 206.

And in another place he says,

'Whether labour is productive or unproductive depends upon whether it produces the result for which it was bestowed. If a man fiddles for bread and gets bread for fiddling, his labour is as productive to him as if he had got bread by ploughing.' p. 68.

But the term *productive* in political economy means not that which conduces to the support or comfort of men, but that which increases the value of their property, what produces not happiness, but wealth. The bread earned by the musician is not produced by him, this is what he gets; but the question is what does he give,—what does he produce; and the answer is, pleasure to those who hear him. Now this pleasure constitutes no part of the wealth of those, who receive it. They cannot exchange it, nor lay it up for future use. On the other hand, he who catches fish or raises grain not only earns bread by so doing, but gives for it the fish or grain, which is so much wealth produced, wealth which the purchaser may exchange for something else or save for use hereafter. So it is with consumption. The food we eat is inestimably important to us; it adds to our health and enjoyment, but as these are not exchangeable, it is not said to

produce wealth directly. That, which we give our cattle to fatten them for the market, directly increases their exchangeable value, and is therefore called productive. A distinction founded on this difference in the immediate effects of different occupations and modes of consumption seems to us important in a science treating of the acquisition of wealth, though it may be regretted that the terms chosen to express it are so liable to be misunderstood.

The position, on which the work before us mainly rests, is the doctrine that the accumulation of wealth is not the means of increasing the prosperity of a nation, but on the contrary the cause of its decay. This is another of the paradoxes of lord Lauderdale, and arises from supposing that the accumulation of wealth necessarily implies the hoarding of a particular commodity. Accumulation is adding value to value, and so far is it from being inconsistent with consumption, that it includes all that which is called productive consumption. When an individual, having raised a quantity of grain by his own labour, consumes it as food for his family, he accumulates nothing. But if he uses part of it to purchase and support cattle, and these cattle are worth more than all the grain thus used, he accumulates wealth, possessing as much more than he did before, as the value of the cattle exceeds that of the grain. So if, instead of consuming as fuel all the wood he has cut in the forest, he lays some of it by till he has saved enough to build a house, as soon as he employs it for that purpose, he ceases to hoard, but continues to accumulate; for he adds to the value of the wood the new value it possesses in consequence of being converted into a house. If the individual supposed had eaten all the wheat and burnt all the wood for his own comfort, they would have been consumed unproductively but usefully. If after saving them, he had left them to decay, this would be consuming them in a most unprofitable as well as unproductive manner. Supposing however that in saving them to procure cattle or a house, he had suffered some inconvenience from hunger or cold, the question whether his condition was improved by this accumulation could be decided only by determining whether the inconveniences he had thus suffered were on the whole compensated by having during the rest of his life a house to shelter him, and meat and milk as well as grain for food.

Whatever property may be productively consumed, or

exchanged for what may be productively consumed, is the means of procuring more; hence it is obvious that a man or a community, who produce in a year more than they consume, have a surplus, which enables them to produce still more afterwards; and those, who do not, are in the same condition at the end of the year as at the beginning, and have no means of rendering the following year more productive than the last. The former add a part of their revenue to their capital. But to what other end all this accumulation, than the gratification of human wants at last? To none; but it promotes our happiness, whenever the enjoyment ultimately resulting from it is greater on the whole than that which would have arisen from the immediate consumption of the revenue thus saved. Assuming however that no part of all thus saved or of all, that it is the means of producing by successive accumulations, is ever to be used in satisfying the wants of man, what then? Then to be sure it will not promote human happiness; but it will still be capable of being so used, and may therefore have an exchangeable value and constitute wealth. But the fact assumed is a moral anomaly; men will not deny themselves enjoyment now, unless to obtain some gratification hereafter; it is not in their nature to underrate the present in comparison with the future, and if they ever do so, it is an exception to common experience, and cannot be taken into consideration in general reasoning on the interests and conduct of mankind.

Thus far we have gone on the supposition that no accumulation could take place without a diminution of present comfort. But the advantages of accumulation will be still more evident, when we consider that it commonly provides for future enjoyment with no other immediate sacrifice than that of ease. The desire to accumulate without relinquishing present comforts excites industry, and the wealth accumulated by that industry stimulates men to invent new wants and at the same time affords them the means of gratifying them, and the gratification of our wants, whether real or imaginary, is enjoyment.

Upon the same page on which it is asserted, 'that if all the manufactures are worn out and all the provisions eaten up clean annually, the nation will be in a prosperous and flourishing condition,' it is likewise expressly admitted, 'that this is done among savage nations, and yet that they suffer

all the horrors of poverty and want;' and still further, 'that if this cannot be accounted for upon principles consistent with the above doctrine, then the doctrine is erroneous.' How then is it accounted for? 'In the first place the wants of savages, it is said, consist entirely of the necessaries of life; they know nothing of the arts and sciences; nor do they desire or know how to procure what we call comforts: while the wants of civilized man are innumerable and insatiable, incapable of being supplied by the labour of the individual, who would think himself in a deplorable state of poverty, if his articles even of mere food were limited to the productions of his own labour. In the second place, the manner in which their wants are supplied is still more different, the savage supplies all his wants by his own labour, and depends on the labour of others for no part of them; while not one in five hundred of the wants of man in civil society is or can be supplied by his own labour, and he depends on the labour of others for most of the necessaries and comforts of life.' 124.

Now both these circumstances in civilized life are nothing but the consequences of accumulation, the very benefit resulting from it, and therefore instead of shewing it to be worthless, they are at once the proof and the measure of its utility. Why has civilized man more wants than the savage, but because having accumulated the means and instruments of procuring sustenance in future with very little exertion, he is induced to invent new enjoyments, and having once tasted the comforts arising from accumulation, has learned to think them essential to his happiness? How is it that so many of his wants are supplied by the labour of others, and that others share with him the fruits of his own labour? How could it be if each consumed all he produced, instead of accumulating something to be exchanged for something else accumulated by another. It is admitted by this writer that the wealth of an individual and of course his means of supplying his own wants may be increased by accumulation, and if the ability of all the individuals in a nation to supply their own wants be at any time thus increased, how can the national wealth in any sense of the term be thereby diminished? So long as the savage continues to consume the flesh and wear out the skins of all the animals he takes in the chace, and to burn all the trees he fells, his condition cannot be improved.

But when he smokes and dries some of this meat for future use, and lays up a number of the skins to be exchanged for other commodities, and converts part of this wood into a rude plough, he begins to accumulate and takes one step towards civilization. Accumulation is itself the means and the only means by which the savage country becomes civilized, the civilized refined. If indeed any individual or community be incapable of improvement, can conceive no new want, acquire no additional happiness, and have in truth attained the perfection of its nature, to that individual or community, accumulation is useless, and it may wisely consume all which it produces. Such is in fact the condition of irrational animals. But in human society there are no bounds to the advantages which may be derived from accumulation, because there is no limit to the desires, the invention and the improvement of man.

This leads us to the question now in discussion between the English and French economists, Mr. Malthus and Mr. Say; which is, not whether accumulation be the means of promoting national wealth; for both admit that it is the only means, but whether there be any limit to its utility, whether production of itself ever becomes excessive. Expressly adopting the principles of Smith, they deduce from them different conclusions, Malthus maintaining the affirmative and Say the negative of the question just stated. Mr. Say certainly does his opponent injustice in supposing him inclined to countenance the extravagances of lord Lauderdale on this topic, for he explicitly disclaims his lordship's doctrine, and declares that he cannot think of any other way of increasing the wealth of a nation than by saving from its revenue to add to its capital; though he asserts at the same time that there is a limit to the benefit of accumulation, a limit which, in countries of great wealth, population and industry may sometimes be attained. It might be shewn, we think, in accordance with the principles of Mr. Say himself, that there may be a local and temporary excess of a particular commodity; that is, a disproportionate production of it; yet this, it must be admitted, can never be general or permanent, and must be of very rare occurrence in countries not greatly embarrassed by those shackles of industry, called protecting laws. With this qualification, however, the opinion of Say appears to us correct, and his reasoning incontro-

vertible, and some of the facts cited by Sismondi and some of the arguments urged by Malthus in opposition to it may be converted to its support. It seems to us a hard doctrine to assert that a uniform increase of all the means of human sustenance and enjoyment can on the whole be prejudicial to any community; and quite unaccountable that such an assertion should come from Mr. Malthus, who has devoted so much labour and all his talents to the support of the proposition, that population will increase indefinitely and immediately in proportion to the means of subsistence. There is evidently no room for the discussion of this interesting question in the work before us, since it assumes, with lord Lauderdale, that in civilized countries, accumulation is always pernicious.

The definitions of labour and of the comforts of life, in this work, are by no means satisfactory. 'Labour,' it is said, 'is the exertion of human power for the purpose of producing the necessaries and comforts of life.' 'The comforts of life are every thing produced by labour, which we enjoy, except necessaries.' This is defining in a circle, and we cannot learn from it the meaning of either term. 'A man who fiddles or dances for bread,' we are told, 'performs labour; but if he does it for his own amusement, or that of others, it is not labour.' Hence we must conclude that to see a man dance or hear him fiddle for pay is a comfort, to see or hear him for nothing, not a comfort; though many would think the latter much the most comfortable of the two. What if a man, in order to have the pleasure of seeing another dance, pays him in fiddling, or if he cultivates his garden and raises fruit for his amusement; or if a lady knits stockings or weaves bobbin for hers, are such exertions labour according to these definitions or not?

In his chapter on the mercantile system, our author informs us, that 'the balance in favour of a nation is all its exports sell for, be it more or less;' or, in other words, if we understand him, that its imports, whether of greater or less value than its exports, are all clear gain, which is evidently confounding the gain made by producing the commodity exported with that made by exporting it. How can it be said that the means of a nation to supply its own wants are not lessened, when its imports are less in value than its exports. Since the value of property consists in the power derived from it

by its possessor to procure for it whatever he wants, it follows that if the value of his property be less after trading than before, his ability to procure what he wants is diminished. Another position here laid down, and which seems to us not quite consistent with the former, is, that whatever a nation imports for its own use is of no value. This is deduced from the doctrine, to which we have already adverted, that whatever is destined for consumption has no value; which would prove, if true, that nothing has a value, for all things are destined to be consumed for the use of man or to be exchanged for something else for his use, and none can be of greater value than the articles for which they may be exchanged. We are told that a given quantity of merchandise imported for consumption can afford only a certain amount of enjoyment, and that therefore its value in money is immaterial. But how can a hundred dollars worth of any commodity be a quantity equal to that which is at the same time and place worth a thousand? Is it not manifest that the quantity worth a thousand dollars must be ten times greater, and may therefore afford ten times as much enjoyment?

The author, following the method of Lauderdale, proceeds in his second part to consider some of the means by which national wealth may be promoted; and very truly states the establishment of equal rights and equal laws, and the perfect security of property, which is at once the motive and the reward of industry, to be among the best and most efficient. In the chapters on Equality and Pauperism he advances a number of indistinct and disconnected if not incongruous propositions, from which, on the whole, we only gather, that he imagines some benefit may be derived from compelling the possessors of property to pay others for labour, a project as superfluous and visionary as to compel the latter to labour for pay. The labourer gives a full equivalent for his wages, and, instead of being supported by the idle, supports them; for the people subsist upon their revenue, not on their capital. Essential as we deem the accumulation of wealth to the improvement of society, we have no idea that such part of it as is not required for the immediate gratification of human wants, can be of the least use even to its possessor, unless it be employed in the hands of labour as an instrument to increase production. For his own sake, therefore, he will thus employ it. The capital of the man, who lets his money on

interest, is in the hands of labourers, who are enabled by it to produce so much more than they could otherwise do, that they not only replace it, and obtain a subsistence for themselves, but contribute something to the support or wealth of its owner. The property, which is concealed by the miser, which he will neither use himself nor permit others to use, is certainly, while thus locked up, utterly unprofitable to the community. But the number of misers and the amount hoarded by them are so small, especially since it has become lawful to receive interest for the use of money, that they are not to be regarded in the science of political economy.

We understand this writer to assert that the construction, by the government, of roads, canals, or other public works, even though they be such as are entirely useless when finished, is a public benefit. Now, in our opinion, the money expended on such an undertaking is as utterly unprofitable to society as that hidden in the cellar of the miser. This money, to be sure, is not consumed nor banished, but still exists in the nation. So does that in the miser's chest. But there has been an increase of industry.—Industry, devoted to what is absolutely useless, is no better than the industry of the miser in counting his money. The idea of a road or canal is so intimately and so justly blended with that of utility, that it is difficult to separate them even in imagination, and therefore, in order that our reasoning may not be influenced by our prepossessions, let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the work undertaken by the government is obviously useless, such as turning a mill, in which nothing is ground, or like the task of Sisyphus, heaving a rock up hill to set it rolling down again. We have said that the money spent in carrying on such works is as ill used as if it were hoarded; we go further, it is worse used, for its whole value is wasted and thrown away. Whenever property is lost by individuals, if neither the nation in its corporate capacity, nor any other individuals are enriched at the same time, the nation on the whole is impoverished. Now when this work is ended, what is it that has been done? Money has been raised by taxes, paid by the government to these workmen, and laid out by them for food, which they have consumed. The workmen are not enriched, having spent all they earned. Those from whom they purchased food are not more wealthy; since the value of the food they gave was equal to the money they re-

ceived, and would have purchased the same commodities in the market; so that they have simply exchanged one thing for another. The government has gained nothing, having paid away all it had levied. But those who paid the taxes received no equivalent, and therefore have lost all that was taken from them. Suppose that instead of raising taxes to pay the wages of these workmen, the government had required all taxable citizens to furnish a quantity of the necessaries and comforts of life, and had paid their wages in these; would not the result have been the same, and would not the community have supported them for nothing? Where then is the utility or the benevolence of compelling them to roll the stone or turn the mill as the condition of their support? It is toilsome and painful to them; it gives neither pleasure nor profit to any body. It is not even labour, according to our author's definition, for it can produce neither the necessaries nor comforts of life. It is nothing but punishment. So that the conclusion of the whole matter is, that the industrious (for whatever may be the immediate effect of taxes, they ultimately fall on industry alone) are compelled to support the idle, and the idle are employed in tormenting themselves. Would it not be better to support them without this barren drudgery, and let them devote their time to their own amusement? Their enjoyment would thus be increased, without diminishing that of others, and so the happiness of society would on the whole be greater.

But this is not all. Had the property taken by the government for the support of these men, been left in the hands of the industrious citizens, by whom it had been produced, they would either have used it in procuring for themselves the necessaries and comforts of life, or if they derived these from some other source, would have been impelled by their own interest to employ it as an instrument of new production. If the former, then the government has deprived those, who labour successfully to produce the means of subsistence and enjoyment for themselves and others and to increase the wealth of the nation, of the comforts and necessaries of life, to bestow them on those, who are toiling to make themselves miserable and benefit nobody;—if the latter, then this property would have been equally used to excite industry, but industry which would have preserved this capital or produced enough to replace it, besides affording a profit to its owner and a full sub-

sistence for the workmen it employed. Whenever a work is worth less than its cost, the nation loses, and it makes no difference whether it was carried on by the government or by individuals. Otherwise the wealth of a nation might be increased to any extent by the very simple process of increasing its taxes and its expenses.

The chapter on protecting duties, contained in this work, denies the position of Smith, that individuals and nations should procure all they want as cheaply as possible. It is here said that if a man can find employment only for half his time, he had better devote the residue to making the articles he wants, rather than buy them. Undoubtedly;—but this is perfectly consistent with the doctrine of Smith, for in this case making is cheapest. According to the terms of the hypothesis, he can get nothing for the labour he devotes to making them, so that it has no exchangeable value; nothing can be cheaper. The question is not whether labour is better than idleness, but whether it is best to supply our wants with the least possible labour, for then it is, that we supply them cheapest. No one doubts that whatever increases the productive industry of the community is beneficial; but the position that a protecting duty, that is, a tax imposed on consumers, who are all the people, for the benefit of a particular class, tends to increase the industry of the community is the very point in dispute; and it is much easier to take it for granted, than it is to prove it. We do not mean to say that Smith's doctrine admits no qualification or limitation, but simply that the point on which the controversy turns is only approached in this work. The topic itself we have heretofore considered and shall not now renew its discussion.*

The question, on the decision of which the merits of the colonial system of modern Europe depend, is correctly stated in the work before us. It is not, whether a nation gains by monopolizing the trade of its colonies, but whether it gains more than the colonies lose, so that the nation and its colonies taken together are on the whole benefitted by the system. It is clear that we may gain by a monopoly. It is equally clear, and appears to be admitted by this writer, that we can gain by mere monopoly nothing but what others lose. He supposes, however, that by monopolizing the trade of its

* See the article, on Foreign Commerce and Domestic Manufactures, in our number for April 1820.

own colonies, a nation gains something at the expense of foreign nations; founding this idea on the position, that the possessor of a monopoly obtains by it a profit at the cost of those who are excluded from it. But the expression is too general. The monopolist gains at the expense, not of all other men, but of those only who are bound by the authority establishing the monopoly, and therefore compelled to submit to unequal terms in dealing with him. An individual, who has a monopoly in his own country, derives by it a profit from his fellow citizens, but not from the citizens of other countries, to which his monopoly does not extend, even though he should trade with them. So a nation, possessing by treaty the monopoly of another's commerce, gains at the expense of the latter, since this is bound by the treaty; but it gains nothing by this monopoly from a third nation, which is not subjected to that treaty. In the same manner, by the colonial system a nation gains at the expense of its colonies, but not at the expense of independent countries. How does it gain? By prohibiting its colonies from purchasing of others, it is enabled to obtain from them a higher price for what it sells them, than it could otherwise do. This difference of price is obviously gained by the nation, and as obviously lost by the colonies. Again, it is said, by preventing its colonies from selling to any one but itself, it purchases their productions at a cheaper rate, and may sell them in foreign countries for a great profit. Is not this excess of profit gained at the expense of those foreign countries? By no means, but at that of the colonies alone, who, but for this monopoly, would sell directly to those foreign countries, and obtain that great profit for themselves. The colonial system is calculated to deprive the colonists of the fruit of their labour in order to bestow it on the citizens of the nation to which they are subjected, which is gross injustice, and a great discouragement to industry, and operates like other unequal laws, to the injury of the whole community. A case may be supposed, in which this system should not alter the proportion of the supply to the demand in the colonial market, and then it would be altogether inefficient, except as an instrument of revenue. The continuance of the colonial system by the nations of Europe does not prove, as our author supposes, that it is useful; since it is not continued by consent of the colonies, but merely perhaps, because those nations are willing to sacrifice the interest of their colonies to their own.

The book we have been examining is mainly founded on Lord Lauderdale's doctrine, that all accumulation is pernicious, and it is less wonderful that its writer should sometimes be surprised at his own conclusions, than that he should rely so implicitly on the soundness of the position. We shall not criticise minutely the arrangement and style of this work, but there is in it one fault of manner too conspicuous to be overlooked. We mean the frequent application of such epithets, as superficial, nonsensical, and absurd, to the works of authors of the highest celebrity, and particularly to that of Adam Smith. The Wealth of Nations, indeed, is an incomplete work, not embracing the whole subject, which it professes to discuss; it is quite immethodical, and sometimes perplexed, obscure and unsatisfactory; but it abounds with original and profound thought, and may be said to have established the science of political economy. Those writers of all nations, whose works have shown them to be best acquainted with the subject of which it treats, have given it distinguished praise, and acknowledged the greatest obligations to it, even while confuting some of its arguments. Considering its exalted character, and the high estimation in which it has always been held by enlightened men, it might be expected that those, to whom, on a first perusal, it should seem superficial and incoherent, would feel some diffidence in their own opinion; and even though they should continue, after a diligent examination of it, to consider it unworthy of its high reputation, yet the admiration of all Europe, during three generations, ought to shield it at least from ostentatious contempt. It is right and laudable to maintain our deliberate opinions by fair argument against any authority, however venerable or illustrious; but it does not at all invalidate the assertions or arguments of another, to lavish on them the terms nonsense and absurdity; nor give the least additional validity to our own to call them dictates or laws of nature.

It is very evident, and it is to be regretted, that our countryman has given his thoughts on political economy to the world, without having read Mr. Say's treatise on the subject, which is beyond all comparison the most complete and scientific we have seen, distinguished by profound and comprehensive views, a lucid arrangement and great clearness and precision of style. Some parts of it may be thought unsatisfactory, as for instance, his speculations on the nature and

use of money, and on the foundation of value; and the language is sometimes so metaphorical as to admit of cavil, though the meaning of the author can rarely be misunderstood; but it ought to be read by all who would learn the progress and present state of this science, and to be diligently studied by those, who undertake to communicate their thoughts on this important and intricate subject to the public.

ART. XXV.—*Yamoyden, a tale of the wars of king Philip, in six cantos. By the late Rev. James Wallis Eastburn, A. M. and his friend.* New York, James Eastburn. pp. 339.

THIS is one of the most considerable attempts in the way of poetry, which have been made in this country. It is no less than a metrical tale in six cantos, after the manner of Scott; in saying which, we do not imply that it is in any obnoxious sense an imitation, for it is no more upon the model of Marmion and Rokeby, than are the Fire Worshippers of Moore, and the Bride of Abydos, Parisina, &c. of Lord Byron. The success of its inventor has given a classical character to this form of a poem between the ballad and the epic, and the author who adopts it is no more to be reckoned an imitator, than others who for no better reason divide epics into twelve parts, and tragedies into five.

Yamoyden is the joint production of two gentlemen of New York, one of whom, at the time of its completion, had numbered but twenty years, and the other was two years his junior. The former,—to whose history, as partly sketched in a very unostentatious manner in the advertisement, the work owes not a little of its interest,—first projected it in 1817, while pursuing theological studies at Bristol, Rhode Island, in which place and the vicinity the scene is laid. The plan was matured when the authors knew no more of the history of which they designed to make use, than they had gathered from a few pages of Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars; and the poem, written in such moments as could be spared from severer occupations, was mutually communicated within six months after;—an example of rapid execution fully equal to Southey's epic of six weeks; for in

literary composition we suppose it is fair to allow that partnership doubles the labour, and that what two persons do in six months, one might do in three; and of the time thus reduced, one half is little enough to deduct for the mutual transmission of the manuscripts. The first draught thus completed, the revision of it was undertaken by the author now deceased, who meantime had taken orders, and was soon after settled in the ministry in Virginia. He had proceeded no further than the two first cantos, when he was interrupted by a sickness, which terminated in his death. At the request of his friends, and encouraged by Dr. Jarvis of this town, the surviving author prepared the work for the press, making some considerable additions, and such alterations as were at the same time needed, and consistent with preserving the poetical identity of his associate.

These circumstances subject the poem to the double disadvantages of a work in part posthumous, and a production of two authors without the opportunity of frequent conference. We notice them, not that the apology they afford is in any peculiar manner called for, but because they ought to affect the estimate formed of it, heightening the opinion entertained of its merit, and excusing its defects; and because the editor in language at once modest and manly, bespeaks in consideration of them a candid judgment. He need not fear the most prejudiced criticism, when he writes such lines as those of the proem, in which the only thing to be blamed is the threat, 'to meditate the thankless muse no more.' We should be glad to extract it entire, but must pay deference enough to our narrow limits to give but a few of the first and last stanzas.

'Go forth, sad fragments of a broken strain,
The last that either bard shall e'er essay!
The hand can ne'er attempt the chords again,
That first awoke them, in a happier day:
Where sweeps the ocean breeze its desert way,
His requiem murmurs o'er the moaning wave;
And he who feebly now prolongs the lay,
Shall ne'er the minstrel's hallowed honours crave;
His harp lies buried deep, in that untimely grave!

'Friend of my youth! with thee began the love
Of sacred song; the wont, in golden dreams,
Mid classic realms of splendours past to rove,
O'er haunted steep, and by immortal streams;

Where the blue wave, with sparkling bosom gleams
Round shores, the mind's eternal heritage,
For ever lit by memory's twilight beams;
Where the proud dead, that live in storied page,
Beckon, with awful port, to glory's earlier age.

'There would we linger oft, entranc'd, to hear,
O'er battle fields, the epic thunders roll;
Or list, where tragic wail upon the ear,
Through Argive palaces shrill echoing, stole;
There would we mark, uncurbed by all control,
In central heaven, the Theban eagle's flight;
Or hold communion with the musing soul
Of sage or bard, who sought, mid Pagan night,
In lov'd Athenian groves, for truth's eternal light.

'Homeward we turned, to that fair land, but late
Redeemed from the strong spell that bound it fast,
Where Mystery, brooding o'er the waters, sate
And kept the key, till three millenniums past.
* * * * *
'—And so began our young, delighted strain,
That would evoke the plumed chieftains brave,
And bid their martial hosts arise again,
Where Narragansett's tides roll by their grave,
And Haup's romantic steeps are piled above the wave.

'Friend of my youth! with thee began my song,
And o'er thy bier its latest accents die;
Misled in phantom-peopled realms too long,—
Though not to me the muse averse deny,
Sometimes, perhaps, her visions to descry,—
Such thriftless pastime should with youth be o'er;
And he who loved with thee his notes to try,
But for thy sake, such idlesse would deplore,—
And swears to meditate the thankless muse no more.

'But, no! the freshness of that past shall still
Sacred to memory's holiest musings be;
When through the ideal fields of song, at will,
He roved, and gathered chaplets wild with thee;
When, reckless of the world, alone and free,
Like two proud barks, we kept our careless way,
That sail by moonlight o'er the tranquil sea;
Their white apparel and their streamers gay,
Bright gleaming o'er the main, beneath the ghostly ray;—

'And downward, far, reflected in the clear
Blue depths, the eye their fairy tackling sees;
So, buoyant, they do seem to float in air,
And silently obey the noiseless breeze;—
Till, all too soon, as the rude winds may please,
They part, for distant ports: Thee gales benign
Swift wafting, bore, by Heaven's all-wise decrees,
To its own harbour sure, where each divine
And joyous vision, seen before in dreams, is thine.

'Muses of Helicon! melodious race
Of Jove and golden-haired Mnemosyne!
Whose art from memory blots each sadder trace,
And drives each scowling form of grief away!
Who, round the violet fount, your measures gay,
Once trod, and round the altar of great Jove;
Whence, wrapt in silvery clouds, your nightly way
Ye held, and ravishing strains of music wove,
That soothed the Thunderer's soul, and filled his courts above!

'Bright choir! with lips untempted, and with zone
Sparkling, and unapproached by touch profane;
Ye, to whose gladsome bosoms ne'er was known
The blight of sorrow, or the throb of pain;—
Rightly invoked,—if right the elected swain,
On your own mountain's side ye taught of yore,
Whose honoured hand took not your gift in vain,
Worthy the budding laurel-bough it bore,—
Farewell! a long Farewell! I worship you no more!' pp. ix—xii.

The first canto opens with a rich description of a morning scene at Mount Hope, the seat of Philip, sachem of Pokanoket, the almost successful enemy of the New England colonists in 1675 and 1676. The previous events of that war,—in which Philip, after an anxious succession of triumphs and reverses, had at last seen his powerful tribe reduced to a handful of broken hearted men, his allies by force or art estranged, and the question of power between the native sovereigns and their neighbours settled,—are given with spirit, and with historical fidelity. Hunted back and forwards through a hundred miles of forest by the indefatigable hostility of the whites, Philip,—returned to the ancient seat of his tribe, Mount Hope,—holds a council of his warriors, and attempts by a recital of their wrongs to excite them to yet another effort. Agamoun,—an Indian of another tribe, but long attached to

his fortunes,—ventures to speak of flight or submission, and is in consequence put to death very summarily by Philip himself, ostensibly for his treasonable counsel, but in reality, as Philip informs his confidant, to awe his wavering followers, and gain a hold on the fears of those whom he finds no longer sufficiently accessible to other motives. The canto ends with Philip's announcing a plot, which vitiates the whole structure of the story, as it makes the main spring of it an act of almost gratuitous cruelty, and so destroys at the outset the good will intended to be excited for the hero.

> 'Through Nipnet tribes we hold our course:
> YAMOYDEN to their broken bands
> Yet dear, must through their northern lands
> Make smooth our path. Thou say'st that he
> Lists in Aquetnet's woods to hear
> A bird, whose music is more dear
> Than vengeance or than liberty.
> A turtle dove he nurses there,
> And shelters with a parent's care.
> That nest must be despoiled! the chief
> Must share our common bond of grief!' p. 50.

To the turtle dove's nest in Aquetnet woods the second canto introduces us. Yamoyden, a Nipnet Indian, of a race tributary to Philip, had won the love of a christian woman, and as the practice is, adopted her faith. Christian, however, as he was, he remained faithful to Philip, and when engaged in war or in the chase, was in the habit of leaving his wife and child in a solitude, where neither friend nor foe might find them. The evening of the same day with which the poem opens is described, with great truth to nature and beauty of expression. Yamoyden returning from an unsuccessful errand to a neighbouring tribe, visits his cottage, but only to resist the entreaties of Nora that he would separate himself from a ruined cause, and to set off again for the camp of Philip. Her reflexions after his departure are interrupted by four Indians, followers of the sachem, entering her cabin. Her child is taken from her arms and she is carried senseless away. On recovering she finds herself borne along the seashore in the arms of an Indian, who proves to have been commissioned to effect her rescue by Ahauton, a Mohegan attached to Philip's party. Incensed at the

murder of his friend in the council, Ahauton had himself gone over to the English, and brought up a party to intercept that of Philip on its return. The latter, on reaching their boat, which was to convey them to the main land, are fired on from an ambush. They escape with the child, but Nora falls into the hands of her countrymen.

The scene of the third canto is the English camp on Rhode Island, the time the second morning. Baffled in their chase by 'varied tale and rumours dark,' the pursuers hold a 'council stern,' or, as it rather seems, a religious service. They sing a hymn, and hear a sermon from a 'grey old man,' into whose mouth the author has put some of the sentiments expressed by the writers of the early age of New England. He relates the rise and progress of the emigration and settlement, the dangers of the pilgrims by water and land, from the natives, from famine, pestilence, fire, tempest, and cold; describes the prodigies which alarmed, and the faith which sustained them, the destruction which had been scarcely averted, and the safety about to be secured; and concludes à sermon, than which none more eloquent has been preached on the subject, that we know of, from King Philip's day to the present, with an *improvement*, which we do not of course read with edification, but which we are unable to examine impartially. The conversation of the party, turning at length from the *signs* of the times to thoughts of

> '———— many a former day,
> And native hill, and peaceful plain,
> Far o'er the wide and severing main,'

is interrupted by a groan from Fitzgerald, a mysterious individual of their number, on whom, revering 'the sanctity of silent woe,' they had hitherto forborne to intrude their curiosity or sympathy. Having now thrown off 'lone misery's robe of state' by betraying an emotion, he becomes fair game, and is persuaded to tell his history, of which the first part is very like that of Douglas' hermit in Home's tragedy, who had been 'a soldier in his youth,' and the other incidents are the death of his wife, and the elopement of his daughter with an Indian. This episode is of course, except in the last incident, irrelevant to the plot, but we know not that we should be willing to part with it, were it only for the sake of the following lines.

'Rolling years of varied sorrow,
Have bade me nought from hope to borrow;
Far is her flight, and strong her wing,
And eagle-like her foot will cling,
Above the storm, to cliffs that raise
Their fronts to catch the solar blaze.
Yet lives she not amid the skies,
Like eastern birds of Paradise,
Whose food in fragrant air is given,
Who quaff the balmy dews of heaven:
Deserted on her eyry high,
Her bosom faints, and fails her eye,
And hope-herself unfed will die.' p. 116.

Ahauton and his intelligence of Philip are brought in by the party which had rescued Nora. She is carried to a neighbouring wigwam, shrieks on reviving, and is heard by Fitzgerald. He rushes to the hut, and recognises his daughter, reproaches, forgives, and leaves her, accompanied by Ahauton, from whom he learns the perilous condition of her child.

In the fourth canto, in which the Indians, on the second night, meet to propitiate by a sacrifice the evil spirit, lies the strength of the poem. Use is made with great felicity of the customs, rites and superstitions of the Indians; nor is it any trangression of a legitimate poetical license, if we may use the phrase, to ascribe, as is here done, to the Aborigines of New England, practices and opinions which distinguished others of the northern tribes. The following verses are part of the hymn of the Initiates to the spirit or Manitto of dreams.

'"Thy whisper creeps where leaves are stirred;
Thou sighest in woodland gale;
Where waters are gushing thy voice is heard;
And when stars are bright,
At still midnight,
Thy symphonies prevail!

"Where the forest ocean, in quick commotion,
Is waving to and fro,
Thy form is seen, in the masses green,
Dimly to come and go.
From thy covert peeping, where thou liest sleeping,
Beside the brawling brook,
Thou art seen to wake, and thy flight to take
Fleet from thy lonely nook.

'Where the moonbeam has kist
The sparkling tide,
In thy mantle of mist
Thou art seen to glide.
* * *

'Where the small clouds of even
Are wreathing in heaven
Their garland of roses,
O'er the purple and gold,
Whose hangings enfold
The hall that encloses
The couch of the sun,
Whose empire is done,—
There thou art smiling,
For thy sway is begun;
Thy shadowy sway,
The senses beguiling,
When the light fades away,
And thy vapour of mystery o'er nature ascending,
The heaven and the earth,
The things that have birth,
And the embryos that float in the future is blending.

'"From the land, on whose shores the billows break
The sounding waves of the mighty lake;
From the land where boundless meadows be,
Where the buffalo ranges wild and free;
With silvery coat in his little isle,
Where the beaver plies his ceaselss toil;
The land where pigmy forms abide,
Thou leadest thy train at the even tide;
And the wings of the wind are left behind,
So swift through the pathless air they glide.

'Then to the chief who has fasted long,
When the chains of his slumber are heavy and strong,
Spirit! thou comest; he lies as dead,
His weary lips are with heaviness weighed;
But his soul is abroad on the hurricane's pinion,
Where foes are met in the rush of fight,
In the shadowy world of thy dominion
Conquering and slaying, till morning light.
* * * *

'Through the veins when hot and glowing
Rage like liquid fire is flowing;

Round and round the war pole whirling,
Furious when the dancers grow;
When the maces swift are hurling
Promised vengeance on the foe;
Thine assurance, SPIRIT true,
Glorious victory gives to view!

'When of thought and strength despoiled,
Lies the brave man like a child;
When discoloured visions fly,
Painful, o'er his glazing eye,
And wishes wild through his darkness rove.
Like flitting wings through the tangled grove,—
Thine is the wish; the vision thine,
And thy visits, SPIRIT! are all divine!' pp. 144—149.

This ended, and the destinies of the tribe and their enemies being declared in a prophecy, which is the least striking part of the canto, a pyre is lighted, and the rites begin, which are described with a prodigious aptness for the terrible. We do not remember any thing finer of the semi-infernal sort, except Shakspeare's witches. We are at a loss how to praise this part of the poem sufficiently to satisfy ourselves, without seeming extravagant. We think we see in it proof of an imagination equal to a story of the class of the Vampire or the Monk, which should make these horrible fictions seem almost nursery tales. The passages we might select as most powerful, we hesitate to extract, lest the feeling they might excite should approach too near to disgust. The beauty of part of the following, however, will atone for the repulsive strength of the rest.

'SONG OF THE POW-WAHS.

'"Beyond the hills the Spirit sleeps,
His watch the Power of evil keeps;
The Spirit of fire has sought his bed,
The Sun, the hateful Sun is dead.
Profound and clear is the sounding wave,
In the chambers of the Wakon-cave;
Darkness its ancient portal keeps;
And there the Spirit sleeps,—he sleeps.

'"Come round on raven pinions now,
SPIRITS OF ILL, to you we bow!
Whether ye sit on the topmost cliff,

While the storm around is sweeping,
Mid the thunder shock, from rock to rock
To view the lightning leaping;
As ye guide the bolt, where towers afar
The knotted pine to heaven,
And where it falls, your serpent scar
On the blasted trunk is graven:
Whether your awful voices pour
Their tones in gales that nightly roar;—
* * * *
Or love the shore where the serpent-hiss,
And angry rattle never cease,—
Come round on raven pinions now!
SPIRITS OF EVIL! to you we bow.

'Come ye hither, who o'er the thatch
Of the coward murderer hold your watch;
Moping and chattering round who fly
Where the putrid members reeking lie,
Piece-meal dropping, as they decay,
O'er the shuddering recreant day by day;
Till he loaths the food that is whelmed amid
The relics, by foul corruption hid;
And the crawling worms about him bred
Mistake the living for the dead!
* * * *

'Come ye who as hawks hover o'er
The spot where the war club is lying,
Defiled with the stain of their gore,
The foemen to battle defying;
On your dusky wings wheeling above,
Who for vengeance and slaughter come crying;
For the scent of the carnage ye love,
The groans of the wounded and dying.

'Come ye, who at the sick man's bed,
Watch beside his burning head;
When the vaunting juggler tries in vain
Charm and fast to sooth his pain,
And his fever balm and herbs applies,
Your death watch ye sound till your victim dies.

'And ye who delight
The soul to affright,
When naked and lonely,
Her dwelling forsaken,

To the country of spirits
Her journey is taken;
When the wings of a dove
She has borrowed to fly,
Ye swoop from above,
And around her ye cry;
She wanders and lingers
In terror and pain,
While the souls of her kindred
Expect her in vain.

'By all the hopes that we forswear;
By the potent rite we here prepare;
By every shriek whose echo falls
Around the Spirit's golden walls;
By our eternal league made good;
By all our wrongs and all our blood;
By the red battle-axe uptorn;
By the deep vengeance we have sworn;
By the uprooted trunk of peace,
And by the wrath that shall not cease,
Where'er ye be, above, below,
SPIRITS OF ILL! we call ye now!

'Not beneath the mantle blue
Spread below YOHEWAH's feet;
Not through realms of azure hue
Incense breathing to his seat;
Not with fire, by living light
Kindled from the orb of glory;
Not with words of sacred might,
Taught us in our fathers' story;
Not with odours, fruit or flower,
Thee we summon, dreadful Power!' pp. 166—172.

The priestess, an inconceivably more odious witch than she of Endor, who scowls in wax in the museums, is about to place on the pyre the victim,—Yamoyden's infant,—when a shriek is heard from the wood, and a venerable form appears, which the terrified priests take for that of their incensed Good Spirit. Before they recover from the panick, a storm which had been gathering bursts, the fire is quenched by a fall of rain, and Fitzgerald in the darkness bears away the child.

The two last cantos are no more fruitful in incident. Yamoyden, coming to his cottage, finds it deserted, and re-

turns broken-hearted to the Indian camp. Philip, while his followers watch, dreams the ominous dream which is recorded of him in Mather and Hubbard,—on what authority we know not; the English left him little time that morning to tell of what he had been dreaming. Awaking, he receives Yamoyden, and summons his warriors. Meanwhile Nora, wandering distractedly from the English camp, is conducted by Ahauton to that of the Indians in search of her husband. She arrives in time to see the few disheartened followers of Philip assailed in their lurking place, routed, and slaughtered. Philip is shot by Ahauton, in revenge for his friend's murder. Nora sees her father beset by a party of Indians, and rescued by Yamoyden, who himself receives the mortal wound aimed at Fitzgerald. She sinks exhausted by her husband's side; they expire in each others arms, and the piece closes.

It will be apparent to our readers from the sketch we have given, that Yamoyden, to be a popular poem, must depend on something besides the attraction of the story. The incidents are neither sufficient for a poem of its length, nor are they artfully disposed. This however is a fault affecting the success of the work, and not the credit of its authors. The embarrassments with respect to a connected texture of fable, and vivid and consistent conception of characters, which are necessarily incident to a joint work, were increased in this instance by the writers being remote from each other; and under the circumstances, it seems to us rather remarkable that there should be so great a degree of continuity and spirit in the narration, than that there should occasionally appear something like dislocation of the parts. On the other hand, Yamoyden has merits of a high order. Some of the descriptive passages are beautiful, and the style,—with here and there an awkward construction and an obsolete word* that has no claim to be revived,—is in general correct, forcible and poetical. The character of Philip,—the only character indeed which is strongly marked,—is well conceived and sustained. But the distinguishing beauty which we remark in this poem is the very happy use which the writers have made of their reading in the antiquities of the Indians. Whatever in their customs or superstitions fell within the scope of the plot, is seized on with an admirable tact, and made available for the purposes of poetry. The fourth

* Reverbed, gleening, stound, rede, &c.

canto, as we have remarked, is crowded with striking imagery, and contains traces of a fancy familiar alike with the terrific, the delicate and the wild. The occasional illustrations,—drawn with a singular felicity and copiousness from the habits and legends of the natives, the natural history of the country, and similar local sources,—have a force of a peculiar sort in appearing to belong to the scene and time. The following examples, among numerous others, will illustrate our meaning.

'Busy and quick, to their errand true,
The messengers of mischief flew,
Noiseless as speeds the painted dart,
In the thicket's shade, to the quarry's heart,
That scares not in its passage fleet
The woodland hosts from their green retreat.' p. 13.

'—Their souls are like the crystal wave,
Where the spirit dwells in his northern cave;
Unruffled in its caverned bed,
Calm lies its glimmering surface spread;
Its springs, its outlet unconfest,
The pebble's weight upon its breast
Shall wake its echoing thunders deep,
And when their muttering accents sleep,
Its dark recesses hear them yet,
And tell of deathless love or hate!' pp. 25, 26.

'Must we lie
In yon dark fen, and dimly spy
Our fathers' hills, our native sky:—
Like the coward ghosts, whom the bark of stone
Leaves in the eternal wave to moan,
And wail for ever, as they descry
The blissful isle they can come not nigh;
Where the souls of the brave from toil released,
Prolong the chase, the dance, the feast,
And fill the sparkling chalice high,
From the springs of immortality.' p. 29.

'O! thou wast borne upon my sight,
In blessedness and beauty given,
Of all good tidings omen fair;
As floating thro' the azure air,
The Wakon bird descends from heaven,
Poised on his fleet and equal wings,

And from his glittering train far flings,
Marking his pathway from above,
The rainbow hues of peace and love !' pp. 65, 66.

'It grew, mid doubt and fear,
A d desolation round, more dear,
And still was every care it brought,
Anection's agony of thought,
That tore the heart, and racked the brain,
Blest in the sacred source of pain.
Like some lone bird, whose pinions hover,
Flapping and tired, as on she hies,
The lake's far gleaming surface over,
Who now a seeming reed espies,
Where, mid the waters, she may rest
Her drooping head and weary breast,
Then trusting to that guileful stay,
Becomes the lurking monster's prey,
Her heart by fangs relentless torn
Even from that dearly welcomed bourne;
So I, a wanderer lone, had fain
On love's confiding bosom lain;
To find, where all the rest had past,
Thence came the deadliest wound at last,
And that fond shelter vain.' pp. 187, 188.

'He only felt, his heart around,
A girth that all its pulses bound;
And all of memory, fear or hope,
Was wound within its anguished scope;
As when the fated victim feels
The Carcajou about him dart;
And staggering thro' the forest reels,
While still the foe insidious steals
His mortal pressure round the heart,—
Until the wound his mercy deals,
That lets the struggling soul depart.' p. 192.

'I liked thee not when stained with guile,
And helpless innocence thy spoil:
And yet *if thine the serpent stroke,*
And thine the serpent sting,
Thy foes did first each deed provoke,
And rattling indignation spoke
Swift vengeance on the wing.
Nor e'er shall Indian say that I

Stood calm, in recreant baseness nigh,
To see the foul and senseless beast
On generous valour coldly feast;
Gorge on, with no remorseless pang,
Nor feel the venom, nor the fang.'* p. 210.

'True,—in this earthly wilderness of care,—
As hunter's path the wilds and forests through;
And firm,—all fragile as thou art,—to bear
Life's dangerous billows,—as the light canoe,
That shoots, with all its freight, the impetuous rapid's flow.'
p. 220.

We are gratified with the appearance of Yamoyden, for a reason distinct from that of its being an accession to the amount of good poetry. We are glad that somebody has at last found out the unequalled fitness of our early history for the purposes of a work of fiction. For ourselves, we know not the country or age which has such capacities in this view as N. England in its early day; nor do we suppose it easy to imagine any element of the sublime, the wonderful, the picturesque and the pathetic, which is not to be found here by him who shall hold the witch-hazel wand that can trace it. We had the same puritan character of stern, romantic enthusiasm of which, in the Scottish novels, such effective use is made, but impressed here on the whole face of society, and sublimed to a degree which it never elsewhere reached. The men who stayed by their comfortable homes to quarrel with the church and behead the king, were but an inferior race to those more indignant if not more aggrieved, who left behind them all that belongs to the recollections of infancy and the fortunes of maturer life,—institutions which they reverenced, and every association that clings to the names of home and country, to lay the foundations of a religious community in a region then far less known to them than the North Western Coast of our continent is now to us. Arrived at 'this outside of the world,' as they termed it, they seemed to themselves to have found a place, where the Governor of all things yet reigned alone. The

* We cannot help expressing our surprise that the idea,—suggested, we believe, by the master of the patent-office,—of having the rattle-snake instead of the eagle for our national emblem, was not adopted. We not only owed it that respect as a fellow-citizen, but for its suitableness to be an ensign armorial, as the lines we have italicized explain.

solitude of their adopted land, so remote from the communities of kindred men that it appeared like another world,—a wide ocean before them, and an unexplored wilderness behind,—nourished the solemn deep-toned feeling. Man was of little account in a place, where the rude grandeur of nature bore as yet no trophies of his power. God in the midst of its stern magnificence seemed all in all; and with a warmer and devouter fancy than that which of old peopled the groves, the mountains and the streams, each with its tutelary tribe, they mused in the awful loneliness of their forests on the present deity, saw him directing the bolt of the lightning, and pouring out refreshment in the flood; throned on the cloud-girt hill, and smiling in the pomp of harvest. If ever the character of men has been seen more than any where else in powerful action of development, and operated on by the force of peculiar and strongly-moving causes, it was here. Nor, wrought on as all were by similar influences of place, fortune and opinion, was ever any thing produced like a lifeless, unpoetical monotony of character. Nothing could be more opposed to this than was the spirit of puritanism. Wrong or right, every thing about these men was at least prominent and high-toned. Excitement was their daily bread, as it is other men's occasional luxury; and the diversities of character in this community where, for the most part, people thought so much alike, were more strongly marked than they have often been in other places in the most violent conflicts of opinion. Here were consummate gentlemen and statesmen, like Winthrop,—dark unrelenting politicians, after the manner of Cromwell, like Sir Harry Vane; female heresiarchs of the stamp of Mrs. Hutchinson; scholars of the first name from the universities of Europe, captains from its fields, and courtiers from its capitals; soldiers, intrepid and adventurous like Standish and Church, the life-guard of the state; or part religionist, part bravo, and part buffoon like Updike Underhill, who, in the relation of his experiences, professed to have first discerned the inward light, 'when taking a pipe of the good creature, tobacco;' or scrupulous as much as loyal, like Endicot, the first governor, who dreaded not the king's enemies half as much as the scandal of the red cross on his colours. Here were noble ladies 'coming from a paradise of plenty and pleasure in the family of nobles into a wilderness

of wants,' like lady Arabella Johnson, and Earl Rivers' grand-daughter, the minister's wife of Watertown; and missionaries like Eliot, making the loftiest spirit of adventure, the most unwearied industry, the noblest talents, and the profoundest learning, subsidiary to an ambition, which held out no prize but that of treasures in heaven. Here were clergymen in the magistracy, and magistrates in the desk; devotees to the established faith, and hankerers after a new; persons, who thought a toleration of state 'a sconce built against the walls of heaven,' and others who were for having it go to the extent of letting people run naked through the streets and into the churches. Here were men, who with a late chief magistrate, thought non-intercourse the specific to keep liberty in health; like Blaxton, who could no more endure the neighbourhood of *the Lords Brethren*, than the authority of *the Lords Bishops*, and Maverick, who lived in feudal state on Noddle's Island with his three *murtherers*, the fondling appellation he gave his cannon. Here were persons reputed to have a secret to keep, like Hugh Peters, said in the tattle of the day to have been the executioner of the king; and exiles like Goff and Whaley, his judges, who had made acquaintance with every hiding-place, whether friend's cellar or hollow tree, from Massachusetts Bay to the Connecticut, and from Hadley to the Sound. All these varieties of character and many more were brought together under a religious commonwealth. To a religious model, by force or accord, every thing,—even relating to the most private and secular concerns,—was made as far as might be to conform; for 'noe man,' saith Mr. Cotton, 'fashioneth his house to his hangings, but his hangings to his house.' Religion, politics, fashion and war never came elsewhere into so close companionship. The meeting-house and the armory were built side by side, as yet, by the force of old habit, they stand, the country through. A desperate courage and dexterity in arms were enjoined as religious duties. The old considered questions of polity at the meeting. The demure youth went from testifying with his mouth in the assembly to testify with his firelock in the field, and the muffled maiden lisped in biblical phrase her soft words of encouragement or welcome.—Mingled with these, in small proportion it is true, but enough to justify an author in using them at his convenience, were adventurers, thrown hither from the very vortex of transat-

lantic dissipation,—of every soil, purpose, character,—citizens of the world, as free of it as the winds that bore them wherever pleasure or danger was to be met, or fortunes to be made by the ready wit or the strong hand,—factious and dissolute, or loyal, staid and serviceable, as the case might be,—men like Morton, the author of New English Canaan, a cavalier as true as ever felt his heart dance to the rattling of spurs and broad sword; or in a higher style, like Smith, a pure abstraction of chivalry, a very knight-errant as ever perilled his life for a lady's smile,—brave to a fault, and high minded to a miracle,—'the soul of council, and the nerve of war,'—a man who was engaged in more adventures than other people have read of, tracing the Nile at one time, and coasting the Chesapeake at another,—now thrown for a heretic into the sea, now saved by an Indian woman from the block, and now challenging an Ottoman army;

> 'Exceedingly well read, and profited
> In strange concealments; valiant as a lion,
> And wondrous affable; and as bountiful
> As mines of India.'

To group with these characters, themselves strongly contrasted, developed in a situation entirely novel and splendidly romantic,—appealing to the mind by the force of all that is ridiculous or sublime in fanaticism, all that is interesting in danger, fascinating in the taste for adventure, elevating and touching in self devotion, or awing in the power of religious faith,—there are the Indians, a separate and strongly marked race of men,—with all the bold rough lines of nature yet uneffaced upon them,—phlegmatic but fierce, inconstant though unimpassioned, hard to excite and impossible to soothe, cold in friendship and insatiable in revenge, yet, though manifesting little sensibility to the wonders of art, alive to the impressions of natural grandeur and beauty, and speaking even in their common affairs the rich language of a sententious poetry; a nation so identified with the hard, cold soil where they were found, as to exemplify the idea of Lord Byron in his passionate apostrophe at the lake of Leman.

> 'Let me be
> A sharer in thy fierce and far delight
> A portion of the tempest and of thee.'

He who shall give them their just place in poetry, will differ from any delineator of artificial manners almost as much as a landscape of Salvator Rosa differs from an artist's draught of a modern house. Their superstitions furnish abundant food to an imagination inclined to the sombre and terrible, their primitive habits admit of pathos in the introduction of incidents of private life, and in public there occurred events enough to find place for the imposing qualities of heroism. The attitude of the Indian tribes, for nearly a century after the landing at Plymouth, was one of high poetical interest. The prince saw his followers half alienated, the priest his faith supplanted, the patriot his race declining towards political annihilation; and innumerable must have been the designs of valour, endlessly discordant the counsels of interest, deep the forebodings of despair, bitter the menaces of vengeance, sharp the contests of discordant policy throughout that anxious period. And as to the resources, which a poet might find for description of natural scenery, he whose mind recurs,—as whose does not when poetical description is named,—to the haunt of the northern muse,

> 'Stern and wild,
> Meet nurse for a poetic child,
> Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood,'

must remember that compared with some of ours, Scottish rivers are but brooks, and Scottish forests mere thickets. And much more picturesque than even now was the land, when a line of thriving villages enclosed a space of Indian hunting ground, and rivers with banks all gay with vegetation, ran down into solitary lakes; when the cultivated farm was bounded with the boundless forests, when the wolf and red-deer found their way among the herds, and the Calvinist in his doublet and beaver crossed the path of the native in his peäg and plumes; when the little settlement read the fate of its twenty miles distant neighbour in the reddened sky, and men who had been honoured guests in the halls of nobles, slept without a tent to cover them in swamps, or nursed the sick Indian in his miserable hut.

Whoever in this country first attains the rank of a first rate writer of fiction, we venture to predict will lay his scene here. The wide field is ripe for the harvest, and scarce a

sickle yet has touched it.—With regard to the particular subject of this poem,—on which we are to hear more anon from Mr. Southey,—it is one, from the remoteness of the period, the variety and importance of the incidents, and the scene of their occurrence, as well adapted for poetical use as any perhaps that could be named. But we doubt whether poetically, and we do not doubt whether historically speaking, it was best to represent the settlers as entirely in the wrong, and the Indians as wholly in the right.

'———valour could no longer save
From soulless bigotry, and avarice fell,
That tracked them to the death, with mad, infuriate yell.' p. 4.

'———proud names, to which belong
A dismal tale of foul oppressions borne,
Which man can ne'er recall, but which the muse may mourn.' p. 5.

'Hearts that loved freedom came, away to tear
From fellow men, that birthright which they blest;
And they, to whom religion's cause was dear,
Fanned the unholy passion in their breast;—
The persecuted sought on the opprest
To trample;—bared the exterminating sword,
Above their victim's last, defenceless rest.' p. 90.

'No throb was there of pity's mood,
For native of the solitude;
Doomed to the carnage of the sword
They deemed the country and its lord;
And bigot zeal, to bosoms brave,
The callous thirst of slaughter gave.' p. 93.

If the authors found that this representation of the conduct of the English settlers towards the native tribes answered best the purposes of their plan, they are chargeable with no transgression of poetical rules. But when they adhere to it in the notes, we are obliged to suppose that such was in reality their view of the subject. Tried by any other than poetical rules we apprehend that such a representation will not hold good, and are fain to believe that it was collected rather from Mr. Irving's life of Philip in the Analectic Magazine than from any graver authority. We certainly do not feel particularly concerned to vindicate the policy of the early settlers towards the natives; nor shall we volun-

teer such a defence, though if called for by the occasion, we should be prompt to undertake it. But their 'bigot zeal,' if such it were, took a quite different direction from that here named; and in this particular instance, where the contest was equally on both sides for existence, it strikes us as no better than sentimentality to represent them as remorseless oppressors, and the other party as cruelly wronged. We have not full faith in the philosophy which teaches that a right on one side always implies a corresponding obligation on the other. Politically speaking, Philip had perhaps a right to attempt to rid the country of his English neighbours; but, politically speaking, they had an equal right to keep their ground, if they could. Philip may be suffered to pass for a hero. That he was brave, ambitious, and cunning, is certain. That he was generous, does not appear. As to the merits of his cause, it is for the most part the simplest of occupations to discuss the question of the right or wrong of any war, certainly of a war made by a savage; but if he is to be brought off triumphant in *foro conscientiæ*, a court which it is not likely he ever thought of, it must be on the ground of his prophetic conviction of the necessity of guarding against the course of events, and not by the plea of injury sustained from any specific encroachment. It was as truly as proudly said by Governor Winslow of Plymouth, in 1676, 'I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony, but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors.' Massassoit, the father of Philip, came voluntarily to Plymouth within three months after the first landing, to enter into engagements with the English. He was always treated by them with scrupulous kindness. He gained by their alliance far more than he gave, and a little time before his death he came to renew it for his children. With Philip himself the war was neither wantonly nor willingly engaged in. They were a long time apprized of his plots against them, before they were willing to take a hostile step, and persisted in their forbearance till longer forbearance would have been more than extreme temerity. The immediate cause of the war was the execution of three of his tribe, whose lives by the conditions of his own treaty became forfeit to the English for the murder of a friendly Indian. Philip, too conscious of his own agency in that affair, and

alarmed lest he should be called on to answer for it, precipitated himself prematurely into a contest, which the colonists still made every effort to avoid. There was no design of apprehending him; and even when the colony of Plymouth, itself cautious and backward, insisted on the necessity of proceeding to hostilities, it was still kept back by that of Massachusetts; till at last the assault of the Indians on the town of Swanzey, and manifestations of the same sort in other quarters, rendered absolutely inevitable the resort to arms. The war begun, it is not surprising that it should be carried on with great exasperation on both sides. New England never saw so critical a time. It was a conflict in which the existence of one party depended on the destruction of the other. The Indians, had they known how to use it, had an overwhelming superiority of force; and though there are sentiments of humanity which under all circumstances generous minds respect, yet in the contest with such an eneenmy,—so wanton and so impracticable,—Grotius and Vattel lose their authority. The Indians were once in force within twelve miles of Boston. Scarcely was there a principal family in the four colonies but lost a father, brother, or son; and these poor victims of 'infuriate rage,' who are so feelingly said to have been hunted from corner to corner of the commonwealth, it is to be remembered were hunted with arms and fire-brands in their hands, with which they carried devastation or terror into every hamlet from the Connecticut to the shore. They encamped at night by the blaze of christian dwellings, and rose in the morning to the quest of blood. Not a New England mother slept but with the image before her mind of her infant dashed against the rocks, nor woke but to fancy every wind through the forest burdened with a savage yell. At such times there is at least a conflict of rights. What one may take another may keep, if he can; and though there may have been instances of unjustifiable severity, yet when the war had been needlessly begun by Philip, his entire decisive overthrow was the only thing which could give security to the settlers.

Yamoyden, however, is no history, nor do we mean to take it to task in that character.—It is not without embarrassment that we have gone through the thankless labour of remarking on a work, which, much as we find in it to praise, we cannot help feeling all along to be unequal as a

whole to the claims and the power of the writers. We have spoken of it,—as it is unavoidable to speak of what is before the public,—in the same manner as if it had been the production of a professed author, appearing under the common advantages of a published work; but we have not forgotten that it was but a recreation of the leisure of persons engaged in soberer pursuits. The work-day world is likely to be in prosperous condition, when there are persons who for their amusement can write like this. We are happy not to know any farther than we learn from the preface and notes, what portions are to be attributed to the authors respectively, and we are sure from the care which the survivor manifests for the reputation of his friend, that he would be quite as much pained by any distinctions we might make in his favour, as to his prejudice. For the one, it may well be cause of satisfaction to those interested in his fame that he will be held in honourable memory by some who have known him only as author of Yamoyden; and for the other, while we would be above the common place of giving to what is even the careless production of a mature mind the frugal praise of being a promise of better things, we are not less sure that the world will hear more of him hereafter, than we are that not even,

> 'As the light carol of a bird flown by,
> Will pass this youthful strain.'

By the public we cannot be thought to have spoken under any improper favourable bias. The writers have gone out of their way to throw a gauntlet to New England, and been at some pains to give out that part of the descendants of the pilgrims are no better than they should be. But heavier offences than this we can forgive. We do not despair of convincing the half anonymous author, when he will favour us with the opportunity, that there are better things among us than 'half learned pretension's shallow store,' and that all the distinctions of Cambridge are not the odious ones, which in an application but too intelligible of a quotation from Mather he attempts to fix upon it. If they will send us from New York such poems as this, and that of Percy's Masque—a work of which any living dramatist might be proud,—we will engage to be pleased with their literature, and to say nothing, in remarking on it, either of their politics or religion.

ART. XXVI.—*Address, delivered at the Fourth Anniversary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, December 25, 1819. By John Gallison, Esq.* Cambridge, Hilliard and Metcalf.

WE propose to say more of the author of this address, than of the address itself; to which we are induced, by the consideration, that his conduct through life may be useful as an example, and because his character is worthy of being exhibited as a model. It is also more especially due from us not to take silent leave of him, as he was one of our number, and his death is a loss common to the contributors to this journal and its readers.

The events of Mr. Gallison's life were not striking, and only a few of them need to be mentioned,—for the purpose of making a short notice of his character more intelligible. He was born at Marblehead, October 1788. His mother, who was sister of the late Chief Justice Sewall, survived his birth but a few hours. His father has lived to experience one of the greatest calamities of age, in the death of a dutiful, affectionate, beloved, and honoured son. Young Gallison was, at an early age, put under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Harris, now president of Columbia College. He was admitted into Cambridge University at the age of fifteen, where he remained till the spring of 1807, when with many others, he quitted that institution without a degree, on account of a dissatisfaction in regard to its administration, which prevailed pretty generally among the students at the time. Notwithstanding his thus dissolving his connexions with it, the university a few years since, conferred upon him the degree of A. M. On leaving Cambridge, he began the study of the law in Boston, in the office of the Hon. J. Q. Adams. He afterwards pursued his studies in the office of Judge Story, who was then in practice at Salem. On being admitted to the bar, he commenced the practice of his profession in his native town; but, by the advice of his friends, he soon removed to Boston, where he resided and continued to grow in honour esteem, and usefulness, till the time of his death, which took place in December last, a short time after he had completed the thirty second year of his age.

His life was a short one, but he improved it so well, that he is remembered for what he accomplished, as well as regretted for what was expected of him. He had become

known to many, and was regarded with respect by all who knew him, and with a warm affection by all who knew him intimately. He was formed to gain the opinions and good will of men. He was kind and sincere in his disposition; nature seemed to have shed virtuous influences upon him, and generous sentiments and honourable principles sprung up in his mind spontaneously.

His faculties always readily inclined to his duties. In his childhood and youth he needed not to be bidden to his tasks. Those who remember him well, while he was the pupil of Dr. Harris, say that he was then as remarkable for the correct and punctual performance of his school exercises, as he always was afterwards for doing, faithfully, and thoroughly, whatever he undertook. Nor was this from a passive submission to an order, or a mechanical adherence to a rule prescribed by himself or others; he was moved by a strong and active principle of duty, not that of obedience merely, but that which arises from a lively sense of moral obligation, and an habitual feeling of what one owes to himself and others. He had, besides, a love and admiration of order, and propriety, and completeness, in so much, that it is not easy to name a thing, though of small importance, which he ever did, carelessly or superficially.

His perceptions, and tastes, and desire of knowledge, were not confined to a few objects, nor yet were they too diversified. He did not fall into the error of which there are so many examples, in men who dissipate their faculties in multifarious and inconsequential attempts, hurrying from their proposed ends, the moment they have overcome the first obstacles, to waste their endeavours again upon something else, and so never finishing any thing, or accomplishing themselves in any particular course of action. Gallison persevered in his pursuits, and never allowed himself to believe a thing to be impossible. As an example of this; soon after being matriculated at Cambridge, he resolved to study his historical exercises, in the French, of which language he had little or no knowledge. Though an acquaintance with history cannot but be considered requisite to every scholar, by all the members of any literary institution, yet at that time the prescribed exercises in this study were made small account of by the students, who hardly considered the reputation of excelling in them, to be worth coveting. But notwithstanding the little

estimation, in which Millot, the author then studied, was held, and the little reputation to be gained by this study, and, above all, the sympathy which the young especially feel with companions who are idle and amusing themselves, Gallison, with this object in view, continued, without intermission, to encounter all the difficulties of the French, till he made himself master of the language.

But though he never lost sight of his purposes, or abandoned them, this did not prevent his occasionally relaxing from his pursuits; and to be social, and on occasions convivial, was to him an indulgence and not an effort. He was at times animated to a pleasantry of mind and manner, which at other times seemed foreign to him. With him, however, as with all, the buoyancy of the spirits, and the promptness of the mind to put away its cares, gradually subsided before increasing responsibility and labours, and during the latter part of his life, there was in his habitual looks and manners some token of his employments.

He was among the first of his class at the university, where he was particularly distinguished in the classical studies. His habits of application attended him in the study of his profession, and with the same success: so that when he came to Boston to establish himself, he brought with him the reputation of being one of the best read lawyers of his standing. But many have experienced, and all observed, that to be a successful or a good practiser, is not a necessary consequence of being a learned lawyer. This is not because any man can know too much of his business, whether his knowledge exists in his understanding as science, or consists only of what he remembers, as so many independent facts. When we say a man is too learned, or too scientific, to be practical, we are apt to impose on ourselves, as if his knowledge were necessarily a hindrance. A general cannot have too great supplies of arms and munitions at his command, but if he will never take up his march, without moving the whole, he will make slow progress. He shows his want of good sense, which he would do in some other way if he could not in this. Some men can never disencumber themselves of principles and precedents; this is not because they have too many, but because they have not skill in applying them; in fine, they either do not thoroughly understand what they remember, or,

they are too indolent and indifferent to make a right use of their knowledge.

The time, therefore, when a young man puts his practical talents to the test, and undertakes to turn his attainments to account, is trying, not merely because he supposes his future fortunes to depend on the result, but also because he, at the same time, subjects his reputation, and his opinion of himself, to a severe experiment. He doubts how far he deserves to succeed; and then he finds the ground occupied by a thousand competitors; many having a fair advantage over him, and others ready to take any advantage. Or if he feels an assurance of his qualifications, and does not fear a trial, still he is sensible of being too much at the mercy of other men and of events. If he deserve well, he must content himself with the barren satisfaction of doing so, unless circumstances or friends supply opportunities. These are reflections made by every man, when he is about to determine whether all his hopes have been dreams; and they are apt to sink most deep, in the minds that aspire the highest. Gallison was not free from them; he often expressed them to a friend with whom he was intimate during the early part of his pratice. Though he was not wont to solicit his imagination for frightful images, he was yet a prudent man and inclined to be sufficiently, perhaps too much, concerned for the future. It was natural, accordingly, that he should not have been free from anxiety, in circumstances, under which to have been so, would have argued insensibility. Yet few young men in fact begin under more favourable circumstances. His talents were well adapted to his profession, and he had been indefatigable in initiating himself, and he had friends ready to give him their support. A young man's success does not often depend more entirely on himself, and no one could be less likely to be wanting to himself. On coming to Boston, he proposed to rely wholly on his industry and talents for support. He accordingly observed the strictest economy in his expenses, which he could easily do, as he had no pleasures, vices, or follies, to provide for, and though like every man of a liberal mind, he had tastes which he would have willingly gratified, and the indulgence of which involve expense, yet none of them had such an ascendancy, as to push him beyond his circumstances. He was one of the most fortunate of men in his moral constitution; it is rare to see

one whose habits, inclinations, and tastes, adapt themselves to his situation with such docility. He thus made the claims upon the fruits of his industry as light as he could, yet he did not the more remit his efforts to meet them.

He was regular in his attention to his business, and scrupulously careful to do well, and in time, whatever was committed to him. Though he did not abandon research and general reading, yet he was present and vigilant in his practice, and did not neglect what lay by him to be executed, to lose himself in remote speculations. He had a happy talent of possessing himself readily and easily of the forms of business, of which every one, notwithstanding all the preparation he can make, will, necessarily, have much to learn, at the time he has occasion for their use. He took care to investigate, and satisfy himself upon, every question that occurred in his practice, whether of great or little importance. He seemed to have almost the same interest in examining a case proposed to him, as one entrusted to him, and all those of the same standing, or younger, resorted to him for his opinion, more than to any one of his age, both because they had great confidence in his learning and judgment, and also, because he was accessible and ready to take an interest in the inquiry. It continued to be so, more or less, during his life, but of course he was less able to lend himself to the concerns of others, as his own became more numerous, and pressing.

With the income from his profession, and some small supplements to it, he just defrayed his expenses during the two first years of his practice, which was no inconsiderable success, both in business and economy. At the end of that time, he undertook the conduct of a newspaper, the Weekly Messenger, on a stated salary from the proprietors, which, with the growing profits of his business, made him as easy and independent in his circumstances, as he could be, and removed one cause of anxiety, by which he seems, before, to have been sometimes a little depressed. He continued to conduct the Messenger a year and a half, and, during this period, he began to take notes for his reports of Judge Story's decisions. Both as an editor and a reporter, he showed his usual industry, ability, and accuracy; the proofs of which are in possession of the public. But he did not permit his labours, in either of these characters, to interfere with his pro-

fessional engagements, nor do these avocations seem to have given his employers any apprehension that their affairs would be neglected.

His attendance in the Circuit Court gave him an opportunity of perfecting himself in practice, and being present at so many important trials, before so able and learned a judge, he could not but make great accessions to his legal acquirements, and, what was of equal importance, he acquired skill in analyzing and interpreting the principles with which his mind was stored, and applying them to persons and facts. By reporting, he also attained, more perfectly, the art of ascertaining and arranging evidence, in which he afterwards excelled.

About the beginning of 1816, he formed a connexion in business with Mr. Prescott, which opened to him a wide field of experience, in a great proportion of the most important and difficult cases disputed at the time. And the opportunity of a free professional intercourse, and, in many things, community of pursuit, with so eminent a lawyer, was not among the smallest advantages of the connexion. Mr. Gallison was not a man to neglect availing himself of such advantages. He was accordingly, on Mr. Prescott's consenting to accept the office of judge, about two years afterwards, able to take a very respectable rank at the bar, in which he maintained himself with steadiness, and from which he gradually rose during the rest of his life.

At the time of his death, he had been in the practice but ten years, in which period he had rendered himself a skilful conveyancer, and was of course well versed in the titles of real estate, and had become a correct, scientific, special pleader; attainments, which those only will think slightly of, who are ignorant of the labour and talents requisite to them. He did not possess, in a very eminent degree, the talent which usually characterises the greatest advocates; that of putting a subject in a strong and irresistible light; nor was he peculiarly distinguished by the power of originally and intuitively perceiving things in all their relations and consequences; nor had he a remarkable rapidity and dexterity in making combinations. But he was prudent, vigilant, patient, and indefatigable. He omitted nothing, and slighted nothing. In conducting a cause in court, or transacting an affair out of it, he was sure to consider the subject from every point of

view, and bring to it whatever research, and a sound and comprehensive judgment, could supply. There was nothing unusually brilliant and astonishing in his performances, but every body was perfectly satisfied. The very appearance of labour no doubt contributed, in some measure, to his success, and had he done equally well, without any sign of labour, it would have inspired less general confidence; for he made the impression that he applied himself indefatigably to what was committed to him; and whatever confidence was inspired at a distance, was never diminished on approach. Those who ever had confided their interests to him, were not apt to leave him. On the contrary, they came to acquiesce entirely in his opinions and conduct, and relied so much upon his qualifications and integrity, that they were disposed to think whatever he did was right.

We have said too much, perhaps, of Mr. Gallison's professional character. Though he was, for his age, a distinguished lawyer, this was but a part of his merit. He loved liberal pursuits, and sought to enrich his mind with good knowledge. His professional studies and employments did not leave him much time, but this he devoted to the best books on useful subjects, and to the society of those who could repay the instruction and pleasure he imparted. The public has some of the fruits of his study, scattered in the different numbers of this journal. The most elaborate articles furnished by him are the review of Bristed's Resources of the United States in September 1818; the article on the Prevention of Crimes in September 1819; that on the Admission of Confessions in Evidence in April 1820; and that on Privateering in July of the same year. Besides his contributions to this work he published, in 1820, the address, the title of which is prefixed to this article. The style in them all is correct and simple, and such as was altogether suitable to his character. The articles on the Prevention of Crimes, and Privateering, are examples of the investigation he was in the habit of making, when it was requisite; of his ardent zeal to promote the great interests of society; and of his benevolence, which, in him, was more a passion, than a mere disposition, and constituted one of his strongest and most characteristic principles of action. All his productions wear striking marks of sound and just thinking.

The views of christianity and the pious sentiments intro-

duced into his address before the Peace Society, were not adopted for the occasion. They were opinions and feelings, that were fixed in his character, and with which his conduct was imbued. It was easy to see that his actions were regulated by the most pure and severe moral principles, and still he was of so good a nature, that he did not judge of others harshly, nor hate them for their faults. He seemed incapable of indulging a bad passion, and had no envy or selfishness, to be gratified by the follies or vices of other men. He very regularly attended public worship, with the congregation of the Rev. Dr. Channing, whom he regarded with the greatest respect and admiration, and to whom he was attached by mutual and intimate friendship. He looked forward to the recurrence of the public ministrations of his religious instructer and friend, with expectation and enthusiasm, and spoke of them, afterwards, with the manner of one alluding to what has produced in his mind strong and elevated emotions. It grieved him, if any intimate friend, from difference of religious opinion, did not fully sympathize with him in this respect.

Mr. Gallison was, in every respect, a practical man, and consistent with himself. Whatever sentiments he felt or expressed, he carried into his conduct, and uniformly acted up to. There was a perfect order, proportion, and correspondence in his principles and actions, so that, as the parts were less striking, the whole was more admirable, and though we may often see this or that, of his talents and virtues, in another, we can seldom find them combined.

He was simple and direct in his purpose, and utterly a stranger to every thing like artifice or duplicity. We would not, however, be understood to say that he was a man of great simplicity of character, in the usual sense of the phrase. He was not easily deceived, and had no excessive vanity or other weakness, that the designing could take advantage of; and though his curiosity did not lead him away in quest of things foreign to him, yet he was sufficiently regardful of what concerned him. To others, he was strictly just and honourable, and not only did not encroach upon their rights, or willingly interfere with them, but was so plainly without any inclination to do so, that they had no apprehension of it; on the contrary they cheerfully conceded what was due to him, and rejoiced, instead of being envious, at all his

successes. At the same time he understood and pursued his own true interest, with a prudent assiduity. He was ambitious of a substantial and durable reputation, pursued with honourable views, and earned by useful labours. He knew how much the opinion of others necesssarily affects the internal satisfaction of every man, and the external welfare of most men. But he did not mistake notoriety for reputation; he never appeared merely to be seen, or courted the transient admiration, that passes with levity from object to object. He desired, and he obtained, a place in the good wishes and good opinion of worthy men,—that grateful and secure reputation, which is a real good; which exalts a man while he lives, and makes him willing to be remembered.

It is generally supposed that Mr. Gallison's life was shortened by his too intense application, though there seems to be some unwillingness to express this, lest it should be a discouragement to industry. But there is no great consequence to be apprehended from supplying a fact, more or less, to those who do as they are inclined, not because they themselves think they have sufficient reasons; they only justify what they are determined on, with such arguments as they can. Mr. Gallison did not stretch his faculties with more intensity, than have a thousand others, who, after all, have gradually decayed in a healthful old age. Of those who have been distinguished during the last fifty years, for their services to mankind, very many are now living, and descending to the goal, by an easy decline from a long course. Yet few of them have been born with their greatness, or found it offered for assuming it. They have toiled while others have slept, and thought while others have been vacant. If there are, then, instances of those who sink under their labours, there are others of those who are strengthened by them. But at the worst, the event of exertions towards laudable ends, is rather an incentive, than a discouragement to others. Suppose a man to be exhausted by his labours at the age of thirty two, as was Mr. Gallison, or earlier, as many have been; still it is a good to have done something, or even to have attempted something, with a reasonable prospect and means of success. The event in itself, or compared with what was hoped for, is a great calamity—it is so to the party himself, for when he has been long working, with a view to remote results, laying foundations with solitary in-

dustry, and the superstructure begins to rise under his hands, he is suddenly swept off, and his eyes are not to see the beauty and use which his mind had conceived. It is most generally a still greater calamity to his friends; for they lived in him, perhaps, and since he is gone, the sources of existence seem to be dried, and to their sight things have faded and are withered. It is a misfortue to other men, who feel the absence of any one, who could really help to move on the ponderous wheels of society. In him they had much, or hoped much, and they seem to have lost as much what they hoped for, as what they possessed. Hence a young man is more regretted than an old one, who was equally useful, and as much beloved. Others are not prepared for the loss, and cannot persuade themselves to resign, what they were so sure of continuing to enjoy. His death seems to defeat the purpose of nature, and disturb the just order of things. Still, if the loss must be sustained, no one could wish it should be less. It is more desirable to die in the midst of one's enterprises, and to leave designs as yet executed only in the rudiments, than to have lived but for the day. To men of a generous mind, it is an evil to live only for themselves, and for the present, and to die without being missed; and it is some satisfaction to one, to know that he shall be remembered, and regretted, for the expectations he has raised, if not for those he has gratified. But very few are, in fact, limited to this satisfaction; those, only, who pass away in their very youth, and whose intellect is blighted in the germ. Though one may not survive early manhood, and may only have begun to execute the great plan of his life, still he is constantly finishing some subordinate part, and has the satisfaction of completing something, and the certainty of leaving some monuments of himself. Few persons are fitted for an Epicurean existence, and formed merely to view at a distance, as indifferent spectators, the struggles of others, or to expect, in tranquillity, the sensations that the senses may awaken, and the amusements that an idle fancy may offer. To most men it is necessary to look beyond the present; to hope, and to fear, and be impelled by the passions. If they reflect and reason at all, they cannot but see, that all the motives are on the side of action, and that it is better to press on in the pursuit, even of what is very improbable, than to stand idle. To

such, the example of one who may have prostrated his faculties, and crushed his being, in generous endeavours, is an argument for activity, and a model, rather than a warning.

When we say that the death of such a man as Mr. Gallison is a misfortune to himself, we speak of it only as a termination of his life, and the extinguishment of his fair hopes in the world. But considered as a transition, and an event in his existence, it must be felicitous, and others should, for his sake, be reconciled to it. If exalted principles, piety, generous exertions for the general good, and that of each one; and a conscientious observance of the laws men acknowledge for the thoughts, the passions, and conduct; if, in fine, dispositions and virtues, have influence upon future welfare, such a man must succeed to hopes greater than those he leaves, and when the curtain of darkness is withdrawn, his eyes must open on a prospect more glorious than that which had disappeared.

NOTE TO CORRESPONDENTS.

***A communication on the third article of the declaration of rights, alluded to at the beginning of Art. XVIII, an article on Florida, and a review of the translation of 'Pothier's treatise on Maritime Contracts' have been necessarily omitted in this number of the N. A. Review.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Agriculture.

A New System of Cultivation, without lime or dung, or summer-fallows; as practised at Knowle-farm, in the County of Sussex. By Major General Alexander Beatson, late governor of the Island of St. Helena. Illustrated by three engravings. 8vo, pp. 77. Philadelphia, 1821.

Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal, No. III. vol. 6, for January.

Biography and History.

History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America; written by Charles Botta, translated from the Italian. By George Alexander Otis. 8vo, 3 vols. Philadelphia, 1820 and 1821.

Memoirs of John Gallison, Esq. 8vo, price 12½ cents. Boston.

Life and Character of Stephen Decatur, late Commodore and Post Captain in the Navy of the United States, and Navy Commissioner. 12mo. Hartford, 1820.

Commerce.

An Examination of the New Tariff proposed by the Hon. Henry Baldwin, a Representative in Congress. By one of the People. 8vo, pp. 269. New York, 1821.

Law.

A Treatise on Maritime Contracts of Letting to Hire. By Robert Joseph Pothier; translated from the French, with notes and a Life of the Author. By Caleb Cushing. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Report of the Evidence, Arguments of Counsel, Charge, and Sentence at the Trial of Stephen Merrill Clark, for arson, before the Supreme Judicial Court, February, 1821. 8vo. Salem.

Miscellaneous.

Address delivered by appointment, in the Episcopal Church, at the opening of the Apprentices' Library in the City of Albany, January 1, 1821. By Solomon Southwick. 8vo, pp. 52. Albany.

Remarks on the late publications of the First Church in Worcester, relative to the 'Origin and progress of difficulties in that Church. 8vo, pp. 103. Worcester, 1821.

Inaugural Discourse delivered on the 4th of January, 1821.

By James Renwick, A. M. Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry in Columbia College. 8vo. New York, 1821.

Anniversary Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society. By Henry Wheaton, Esq. 8vo. New York, 1821.

Remarks on the Character and Narrative of the Rev. John Clark. By William Jay. Interspersed with brief sketches from the Narrative, by way of illustration. By another Hand. 8vo, pp. 91. 50 cents. Boston.

Discourse on the means of improving the Medical Police of the City of New York. By David Hosack. 8vo, pp. 79. New York.

The National Calendar for 1821. By Peter Force. 18mo, pp. 268. Washington.

Account of the origin and progress of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1821.

Ichthyologia Ohiensis, or Natural History of the Fishes inhabiting the River Ohio and its tributary streams, preceded by a physical description of the Ohio and its branches. By C. R. Rafinesque. 8vo, pp. 90. Lexington, Kentucky, 1820.

Letters on the Eastern States. By William Tudor. 8vo, second edition. Boston, 1821.

A Treatise on Self-Knowledge, showing the nature and benefit of that science and the way to attain it. By John Mason, A. M. To which are added, Questions adapted to the work; for the use of Schools and Academies. Second edition, with notes. 18mo. Boston, 1821.

Symzonia; a Voyage of Discovery to the internal World. By Captain Adam Seaborn. 12mo, price $1. New York, 1821.

Poetry.

Sukey, a Poem. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Politics and Political Economy.

Journal of Debates and Proceedings in the Convention of Delegates, chosen to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, begun and holden at Boston, November 15, 1821. 8vo, pp. 292. Boston, 1821.

Reports of Societies.

Fourth Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, in the City of New York. 8vo. pp. 39, 1821.

Second Report of the Bank for Savings in the City of New York. 8vo. New York, 1821.

Theology.

A Sermon, delivered in Boston, on the Anniversary of the American Education Society. By Ebenezer Porter, D. D. 8vo. Andover, 1821.

A Sermon preached January 3. 1821, at the interment of the Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D. D. Senior Pastor of the First Church in West Springfield. By William B Sprague, surviving minister of said Church. 8vo. Hartford, 1821.

Discourse delivered in the West Church in Boston, December 31, 1820. By Charles Lowell. 8vo Boston. 1821.

The Fathers of New England. a Sermon delivered December 22, 1820, being the Second Centennial Celebration of the Landing of the Fathers at Plymouth. By James Sabine. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Two Discourses on the Completion of the Second Century of the Landing of the Forefathers at Plymouth. By Abiel Holmes, D. D 8vo. Cambridge, 1821.

Sermon, delivered at the Dedication of the First Universal Meeting House in Roxbury. By Hosea Ballou. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Sermon delivered at the Dedication of the First Congregational Church in New York. By Edward Everett. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Sermon delivered at the Ordination of Rev. Charles Brooks to the pastoral charge of the Third Church in Hingham. By Henry Ware, D D. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Sermon, delivered before the New England Society of the City and State of New York on the 22d of December, 1820. By Gardiner Spring, D D 8vo. New York, 1821.

The Gospel Advocate; conducted by a Society of Gentlemen. vols. 1 and 2 for January and February, to be continued monthly, 8vo. Newburyport.

Sermons. By the late Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, with a Memoir of his Life and Character, third edition. 8vo, $2,25. Boston, 1820.

The Unitarian Miscellany and Christian Monitor, Nos. 1 and 2 for January and February, to be continued monthly. 12mo. Baltimore.

Sermons on Particular Occasions. By James Freeman, third edition. 12mo. Boston, 1821.

Sermon, delivered December 31, 1820, the last Lord's Day in the Second Century since our Forefathers first settled in Plymouth. By Nathanael Emmons, D. D. 8vo, pp. 24. Dedham, 1821.

Sermon, preached in Hadley, December 22, 1820, in commemoration of the Landing of our Fathers at Plymouth. By John Woodbridge. 8vo. Northampton, 1820.

A Letter to the Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D. on the Charges against Unitarians, contained in his late Ordination Sermon in Baltimore. Second edition, 12mo, pp. 24. Baltimore, 1821.

General brief View of the existing Controversy between Unitarians and the Orthodox, so called; as it appears in some late publications; more particularly in a review in the Christian Disciple, of Professor Stuart's Letters, and in Dr. Woods' Letters to Unitarians. By a Laical Observer. 8vo, pp. 79, price 50 cents. Portsmouth, 1820.

Hymns for Family Worship, with Prayers for every Day in the Week, selected from various authors. By John Codman, A. M. Second edition. 18mo. Boston, 1821.

Sermons on the Public Means of Grace; the Fasts and Festivols of the Church; on Scripture Character and various practical subjects. By the late Rt. Rev. Theodore Dehon, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo Charleston, 1821

Discourse on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, March 14, 1821. at the Dudleian Lecture. By William Ellery Channing. pp. 36. Cambridge, 1821.

Travels.

Travels in France and Italy, in 1817 and 1818. By Rev. William Berrian, an Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York. 8vo, pp. 403. New York, 1821.

American Editions of English Works.

The Poetical Works of James Montgomery. Including several poems now first collected; with a Sketch of his Life. 3 vols. 18mo. Boston, 1821

Memoirs of the Life and Character of Mrs. Sarah Savage, eldest daughter of the Rev. Philip Henry, and an Appendix. By J. B. Williams, with a Preface by the Rev. William Jay. First American edition, 18mo. Boston, 1821.

Principles of Political Economy, considered with a view to their practical application. By the Rev. T R. Malthus, M. D. F. R. S. Professor of History and Political Economy in the East India College. 1 vol. 8vo, $2,25. New York, 1821.

Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, embellished with elegant engravings. 10 vols. 12mo. New York, 1821.

Tales of My Landlord. 1 vol. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Guy Mannering. 1 vol. 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Kenilworth. By the author of Waverly, Ivanhoe, &c. &c. 2 vols. 12mo. New York, 1821.

Same work. 1 vol. 8vo. Boston.

The Improvement of the Mind. By Isaac Watts, D. D. 1 vol. 18mo. Boston, 1821.

The Angel of the World, an Arabian Tale, and Sebastian, a Spanish Tale, poems. By the Rev. George Croly, A. M. 18mo, price 87½ cents. New York, 1821.

Prayers for the Use of Families; or the Domestic Minister's Assistant. By William Jay, author of Sermons, Discourses, &c. from the second English edition, with an Appendix, containing a number of select and original Prayers. 12mo, price $1. Salem, 1821.

A New Concordance to the Holy Scriptures, being the most comprehensive and concise of any before published, in which not only any word or passage of Scripture may be easily found, but the signification also is given of all proper names mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. By the Rev. J. Butterworth. Second American edition, 8vo. Boston, 1821.

Observations on the importance of Greek Literature, and the best method of studying the Classics. Translated from the Latin of Professor Wyttenbach; to which is subjoined an exemplification of the author's method of explaining the Classics to his Pupils. 8vo, pp. 30, price 50 cents. Boston.

The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell, comprising pieces not contained in any former edition. 18mo. New York, 1821.

The Earthquake, a Tale. By the author of 'The Ayrshire Legatees.' 2 vols. 12mo. New York, 1821.

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NOTICE.

The extensive and elegant collection of Minerals left by the late Benjamin Dewitt, M. D. and Professor of Mineralogy, in the university of New York, is offered for sale by the administratrix of his estate. It was begun by his predecessor, Archibald Bruce M. D. who regardless of trouble and expense, gathered specimens from all sources foreign and domestic. The articles are systematically arranged, easily understood, and found by means of a copious and exact catalogue. Such a rich and diversified cabinet of Mineralogy has rarely if ever been offered to purchasers in this country. It may be inspected at the city of New York, by application to Mr. James B. Dewitt, who will at the same time exhibit the bill and make known the terms.

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